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ROBERT SMITH AND THE NAVY

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ROBERT SMITH, born, Lancaster, Pa., 1757; died, Baltimore, Md., November 26, 1842; Secretary of the Navy, July 9, 1801, to April 1, 1809. Appointed Attorney-General March 3, 1805, to August 7, 1805, but continued to act as Secretary of the Navy. Secretary of State from March 6, 1809, to March, 25, 1811.

Much has been written of John Barry, Paul Jones, and Edward Preble; these are our Naval heroes. Much less has been written of the men who made it possible for these Captains to win their victories. Every naval victory is based upon preparation in men and ships; in money and supplies; in Navy Yards and guns. In this preparatory work in our early Navy, Robert Smith is prominent. He was the second Secretary of the Navy and it was under his direction that we waged one war and prepared for a second.

In 1801, Thomas Jefferson was elected the third President of the United States, and a new party came into power. It has often been said that this party, the Republican, found its greatest strength among the land-owning gentry of Virginia. But there was also a commercial element in this new party

which demanded representation in the party councils. Baltimore and Philadelphia at this time ranked third and fourth in the size of their commerce, and each of them had returned Republicans to the Seventh Congress; so it was natural that Jefferson should offer the position of Secretary of the Navy to the acknowledged leader of the Maryland Democracy, Samuel Smith.

There were personal as well as political reasons for this offer. Samuel Smith was one of the largest ship owners on the Atlantic Coast. The "Peggy," the "Sally," and the "Unicorn" ¹ bore their owner's flag to Leghorn, London, and Cadiz, and brought back news and numerous casks of wine, both of which Samuel Smith shared with his friend, the new President. Judged by the standard of that time, Samuel Smith was well qualified to fill the post offered him, but he chose to decline the offer, stating that his duty "to his constituents and to his private affairs" made this necessary.² Instead, he suggested the name of John Mason, or "if no merchant would accept—a gentleman from some other profession," evidently having in mind his brother Robert. A few days later he suggested the curious arrangement that was finally adopted.³ Henry Dearborn, the Secretary of War, was appointed acting Secretary of the Navy, but did none of the work. Samuel Smith, without any appointment whatever, and without salary, acted as Secretary of the Navy. Meanwhile, the place was offered to two Philadelphia gentlemen, and on their refusal, to Robert Smith.⁴

It was this delay in filling the place that enabled Henry Adams, the historian of this period, to say that Robert Smith was "an amiable and respectable person, but not of much weight, except through his connections by blood or marriage."⁵ These are hardly fair words to apply to a man of forty-four,

¹ Baltimore Customs "Registry," 1800-1809.

² J. MSS., Mar. 17, 1801, s. 2, v. 76, No. 66.

³ J. MSS., Mar. 20, 1801, s. 2, v. 76, No. 76.

⁴ J. MSS. Mar. 24, 1801, s. 1, v. 8, No. 79; also Mar. 26, Mass. State Hist. Soc., J. MSS., v. 1, s. 7, p. 97.

⁵ Adams: Gallatin: 277.

who had acquired the largest admiralty practice of his time,⁶ who had been offered the position of Judge of the Supreme Court of Maryland, and who had had ten years' experience in the Maryland Assembly. Perhaps Robert Smith's best qualification for his new office lay, as Jefferson phrased it, "not in his reading of Coke-Littleton—but in the fact, that from his infancy he must have been so familiarized with naval things, that he would be perfectly competent to select proper agents and to judge of their conduct."⁷ Jefferson's expectations seem to have been fulfilled, for Goldsborough says of him, "he was particularly happy in discovering the merits of the most promising young officers, and in bringing forward our Decatur, Sommers, Lawrences, Trippes, and Perrys."⁸

When the Republicans took office, they found that they were not as free to carry out their naval plans as they had fancied. Our Navy, at the close of the war with France, consisted of thirteen frigates and seventeen smaller vessels. By the law of 1800, Congress authorized the sale of all but six of the frigates, and Benjamin Stoddert, the Federalist Secretary of the Navy, had by April 1st fulfilled this provision of the law, receiving for the twenty-five ships sold some \$275,000. Thus the policy, which naval writers have often attributed to Jefferson, was in reality the policy of the Federal party. This reduction of the Navy, considered at the time a great mistake, was in reality a wise move; for the vessels sold were mainly converted merchantmen which were not strong enough to bear the long 24-pound cannon and carronades which were just then coming into use.⁹

One important question that confronted the new Government was: the disposal of the small remnant of a Navy that was left. Under the law, only three frigates might be retained in active service. To what point, then, should they be sent? Gallatin's answer to this question was typical of the man. He believed

⁶ Balt. Dist. Ct. Reds. 1799-1800.

⁷ J. MSS. s. 1, v. 8, No. 140a, July 9, 1801.

⁸ Naval Chron. 212.

⁹ J. MSS., s. 3, v. 1, No. 120.

that the most pressing need of the Government was the payment of its debts. A government, he argued, should be run like a private business and should have no debts. A Navy was a useless luxury. "Spain," he said, "had a Navy, but no commerce; while Holland, without a Navy, had large commercial interest."¹⁰ On the other hand, Robert Smith declared again and again that our best policy lay in maintaining a large naval force. "Such a nation as Spain would not have dared to have committed such aggressions against our rights had she not been under the impression that we were utterly unprepared for war."¹¹ At another time he writes: "Peace will only come with fear, and that can only be excited by a respectable squadron. I am inclined to believe that nothing but a formidable squadron will prevent all the Barbary powers from making war against us. A feeble force will subject us to the suspicion of purchasing a peace."¹² Jefferson maintained an attitude of neutrality on this subject. Though he had pledged that the Navy should not be further reduced, he liked to humor Gallatin's economical foibles. On the other hand, he allowed Smith to carry on his plans practically without a check. The result of this division in the Cabinet was unfortunate: Smith's recommendations for supplies were usually cut down by half; and, when he persisted in carrying out his plans, we see the unhappy Secretary of the Treasury, bitterly complaining that he had no means of raising the money. The Government actually waged a foreign war at a distance of 3,000 miles from home on an appropriation that was meant to cover only the maintenance of three frigates upon our own coast. The figures for a single year will illustrate how badly this financial game of cross purposes worked: in 1803, Congress appropriated \$114,000.00 for oak timber for new frigates; \$174,000.00 was spent; for gunboats, there was a deficit of \$46,000.00. There was a total deficit of \$306,000.00 in an expenditure of \$1,215,000.00, or about one-fourth of the

¹⁰ Adams: Gallatin: 157.

¹¹ J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 54. Sept. 9, 1805.

¹² J. MSS., s. 3, v. 1, No. 38. Sept. 4, 1802.

total. These figures may be taken to show either bad management on the part of the Treasury or of the Navy, according to the sympathies of the writer, but in either case, they show bad team work in the Government.¹³

To return to our question—the disposal of our fleet—it was finally decided to send the squadron to the Mediterranean. At that time we sent about 100 ships a year to Italy and to Smyrna.¹⁴ To protect them we paid the Barbary powers about \$100,000.00 a year. To Algeria we paid an annuity of \$21,000.00. Biennially, we paid \$17,000.00 and, besides all this, there were lesser fees of \$5,000.00. As General Smith explained in a letter to Commodore Truxton: “The object of the expedition was instruction to our young officers—and because it was conceived that a squadron cruising in sight of the Barbary powers would have a tendency to prevent them seizing on our commerce whenever passion or a desire of plunder might incite them thereto.”¹⁵ On May 20th, the final instructions were sent to Commodore Dale, who commanded this, the first squadron ever sent out to a foreign station: “It is the positive command of the President”—the words are significant of the spirit of independence which was to animate our new Navy—“that on no pretence whatever are you to permit the armed vessels under your command *to be detained or searched*, nor any of the officers or men belonging to her to be taken from her, by the ships of any foreign power.”¹⁶ In addition, Dale was to cruise along the Barbary Coast, returning in December if no one of the powers had up to that time declared war upon us.¹⁷

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow out the course of the war that followed with Algiers and Tripoli. The unsuccessful voyages of Morris, the final successes of Preble, and Chauncey; the gallant acts of Lawrence, Decatur, and Trippe are all too well known to need further description. It is rather

¹³ State Papers: Fin. 2, 350. Mar. 9, 1803.

¹⁴ G. A. Barbary Corsairs: p. 69 and 56.

¹⁵ Sec. Letters to: Apr. 10, 1801.

¹⁶ Sec. Letters to: May 20, 1801.

¹⁷ G. A. Barbary Corsairs; 92.

my intention to show what part the Secretary played in the war by sending out men and supplies.

The department over which Robert Smith presided was not the large and intricate establishment of today. There were only three clerks, two of whom were mainly occupied in copying into large books the letters that were received from the Captains and Contractors. Of incoming letters there are some twenty volumes, of the outgoing as many more; all these Robert Smith read and answered, showing an energy and industry that amazes the student of the present day. Details of the smallest character all had to be decided by the Secretary: an order for $\frac{7}{8}$ augers instead of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch; the furlough of a sailing master; the remaking of spoiled powder; were all matters which required the Secretary's attention.

There were at that time six Navy Yards. They had been purchased in 1799 at a cost of about \$170,000.00. Little had been done to improve them, but a good deal of live oak timber had been collected to season against the day when we should build the new and larger frigates, known as the '74's. This could be found only along the Southern seaboard. Especially famous for its timber was the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and many interesting letters remain to tell us of the difficulties which the contractors faced in cutting the timber, hauling it to tidewater, and in shipping it to the nearest Navy Yard.

In charge of each Navy Yard there was a Navy Agent, whose duty it was to recruit men for ships that were to be put in commission, to buy stores and to guard the Navy's store of timber and hemp. At Baltimore, Colonel Stricker was the agent, and he seems to have been one of the most active of these officers. As the most of the boats sent out stopped at Baltimore for their final outfits, he was kept busy hiring men and buying provisions. The Navy rate for seamen was \$10.00 per month, and as the prevailing rate for merchant vessels was \$12.00 or \$15.00, he was often compelled to offer a bounty of \$10.00 or \$20.00 for enlistment.

The Navy ration consisted of beef, pork, bread, and beans, and for luxuries, vinegar, cheese and rum. To replace this

beverage by the more patriotic whiskey was one of Robert Smith's first efforts. Because of the large crews which a frigate carried (some 400 men) she could carry provisions with her for little more than three months, and as the voyage to Gibraltar occupied two months or more, our boats were always compelled to revictual there at a large cost. Even if the beef held out, the cheese was sure to run low, and as the crews were inclined to be mutinous when deprived of this ration a wise Captain was compelled to put into port for this luxury.

From Gibraltar to the coast of Tripoli or to Malta the distance is about 1,500 miles; to the coast of Algiers, 500 miles. This gives us the terms of the problem which faced Robert Smith. To maintain a blockade on a hostile coast 1,500 miles from a base would be declared by Naval experts today as impossible. That Robert Smith solved this problem and did it in the face of Congressional opposition served only to render his achievement greater.

Three courses were open to him: he could establish credits at London and allow ship Captains to purchase their supplies at the nearest ports, Malta and Syracuse; he could send out supply ships; and he could established a regular supply depot at Malta to which Government supplies could be sent. All three plans were tried, but it was not till after the third was adopted that we were able to keep ships off the coast of Tripoli for more than a month at a time.

Robert Smith opened our Naval account abroad when on September 11, 1801, he sent to his brother in Baltimore \$7,000.00 with instructions "to purchase Bills of Exchange on London at not more than 60 days to the amount of £1,500, which you will remit to Messrs. I. Mackenzie and Andrew Glennie of London, with direction to pass them to the credit of the Navy Department, charging the customary commission upon purchases of this kind."¹⁸

Later Smith and Buchanan reported that the bills which they had bought from Oliver Brothers were worthless, as the firm on

¹⁸ Gen'l Letters. Sept. 11, 1801, vol. 4.

which the bills were drawn had failed. In this case *the loss was made good by Oliver Brothers*.¹⁹ This evidence is important, because later in 1807, when Gallatin and Robert Smith quarrelled, the Secretary of the Treasury charged that Robert Smith knowingly purchased worthless Bills of Exchange from his brother. The charge was made soon after the failure of Degan and Purviance, our Naval Agents at Leghorn. It is true that as soon as the failure became known in Baltimore, John Donnell and Hollins and McBlair offered bills on Leghorn to the Navy Department,²⁰ but Robert Smith refused both these offers and this refusal, to the writer's mind at least, disproves Gallatin's charges.

Another example of a similar sort might be given: January 18, 1805, John Donnell wrote to Robert Smith: "I have a ship arrived at Annapolis, a few days since with a cargo of coffee from Mocha; from thence I mean to dispatch her to Leghorn; the proceeds of the cargo will leave in London, after furnishing the ship with capital for another voyage, about \$70,000.00. The intention of my addressing you is to know if you will purchase Bills at 60 days sight on Leghorn."²¹

Over a million dollars was in this way sent to our fleet and less than 1½% was lost. But the system was at best a bad one. There was no way of checking the Commodores in their expenditures, and both Chauncey and Morris were constantly over-drawing the sums allowed them. At times the Department owed McKenzie and Glennie as much as \$150,000. For that reason, in 1803 and 1804, Robert Smith turned to the supply boat system.

The first supply sent out was by the brig Courtney. It left Norfolk, July 6, 1802, and arrived at Malta, October 2.²² Daniel Bedinger, the Norfolk Agent, had loaded her with an immense quantity of provisions, 400 bbls. of beef, 350 of pork, 120 of flour, 18,000 of suet, 120,000 of bread, 1,300 gals. of

¹⁹ Gen'l Letters. Sept. 26, 1802.

²⁰ Gen'l Letters. May 18, 1807.

²¹ Misc. Letters. Jan. 18, 1805.

²² Cpts. Letters. Oct. 2, 1807.

vinegar, a similar quantity of molasses and 8,000 lbs. of cheese. This voyage is typical of many that followed.²³ The flour and much of the beef spoiled on the way.²⁴ As a result of this difficulty in transportation the system was abandoned in 1805 and the third plan was tried.

Naval agents were appointed at Leghorn, Naples, Syracuse and Malta. Funds were sent to them and they purchased the supplies for the squadron. The Captains drew these supplies upon regular requisitions, as on the Home Station, and in this way the Department was able to control expenditures. For many years this system remained in use and was perhaps Robert Smith's most valuable contribution to the development of the Navy.

The problem of the control of the movements of our ships in the Mediterranean offered another difficulty. The distance which separated the Secretary from his Captain is well pictured in the following letter by Captain Murray:

"Accomplished more than 2/3 of our passage in 12 days, when near the Western Islands, we met with head winds which hung upon us for four weeks, and at times blew very heavy, at other time very baffling and light, so that our progress was slow indeed.—I intended to have called at Gibraltar, but when off that place, the wind blew so heavy from the Westward that I was fearful to trust my ship there with a single anchor."²⁵

Since it required six months for letters to come and go, Smith's orders were necessarily of the vaguest sort. "Arrived at Gibraltar, the John Adams and Adams shall convoy the New York (whither, we ask) and if no American vessel wants convoy, the enterprise shall be employed to best advantage" (But how?)²⁶ Such orders required men of great independence to execute them. Even when the orders were of a more definite sort, as when Captain McNeil was ordered to join Dale's

²³ Gen'l Letters. Dec. 22, 1803.

²⁴ Misc. Letters. Feb. 25, 1804.

²⁵ Misc. Letters. Apr. 30, 1802. U. S. Constellation, Murray to R. S.

²⁶ J. MSS. s. 3, v. 1, No. 49. Mar. 30, 1802.

squadron, the Captain was able to disregard the orders with safety, under the plea that he could not find the squadron.²⁷

But there were occasions when Robert Smith could issue prompt and definite orders. During the summer of 1802, Jefferson was at Monticello, four days travel from Washington. For that reason, when bad news arrived from Tripoli, Smith at once ordered Commodore Morris to retain the *Boston* in the Mediterranean, had the *New York* prepared in two weeks time, and sent out in her 100 gun carriages, as a gift to the Emperor of Morocco. And all this was done by the man whom Henry Adams describes as the "weak and amiable Robert Smith."²⁸

There were men as well as money difficulties. Congress had limited the number of Captains in the Navy to nine, and of Lieutenants to 36. This law was never obeyed by Robert Smith. In 1805 there were in active service 12 Captains and 57 Lieutenants. The matter came to a crisis in 1806. Trouble with Tunis, as well as with Tripoli, had begun and Robert Smith was anxious to reinforce our squadron by sending out the *Chesapeake*, but was prevented by a Law of 1806, which limited the number of seamen to 925. Eventually Smith avoided this difficulty by refusing to count the men employed in the Mediterranean as a part of the Naval force.²⁹ In this way the 412 men for the *Chesapeake* were secured, but it was not till March 3, 1807, a year later, that Congress legalized his action by authorizing 1,425 seamen for the Navy.³⁰ Such action on the part of a Secretary might have resulted in impeachment, but Smith evidently preferred personal danger to failure in our Navy.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in carrying on the blockade of Tripoli is best told in the words of Captain Murray: "We cannot keep their small galleys in port, they being in every respect so like all the small craft that navigate these seas; the best security for our commerce will be to offer convoy from port

²⁷ G. A. Barbary Corsairs. Oct., 1801.

²⁸ J. MSS. s. 3, v. 1, No. 30. Aug. 16, 1802.

²⁹ J. MSS. s. 1, v. 11, No. 184. Apr. 22, 1806. Also Goldsborough.

³⁰ State Papers, Naval. I, 161.

to port, and if we are still to carry on this kind of warfare, be assured, Sir, that it will be necessary to increase our force with *brigs or gunboats* which will be fully adequate to any force they can have to encounter with" . . .³¹ Murray's plan of buying small vessels that could follow the Tripolitan vessels close in shore was followed the next year when two gunboats were leased from the King of Naples, who was on bad terms with the Tripolitans. The next year, 1804, Edward Preble used the gunboats in bombarding the Tripolitan forts. That Fall he returned to the United States full of enthusiasm for this new Naval weapon. The gunboat as he pictured it was a small boat, some 47 feet long and with a beam of 18 feet, and a draught of 5 feet. It mounted but one gun, a heavy 24-pounder; a gun, so heavy in proportion to the size of the vessel, that whenever stormy weather was expected the gun had to be unshipped and placed in the hold to prevent capsizing.

The situation which faced the country in 1806 was very similar to that of the present day. Two great European Nations were engaged in a deadly struggle. Both had declared blockades of the enemies coast and were violating our neutral rights. It seemed inevitable that we should declare war on one or the other power. The problem was, how should we defend our long coast line from an enemy's fleet. Robert Smith urged the need of a large mobile force and Admiral Mahan has sustained his judgment that this is our best means of defense. But Jefferson inclined (probably from motives of economy) to the building of gunboats. Such small boats could be built in every harbor of our coast, he urged, and a fleet of one hundred gunboats would be ready while we were building three frigates. Robert Smith was far less enthusiastic. "If you think," he wrote to Jefferson, "that gunboats are indispensably necessary for the protection of merchantment *in calms*, you may purchase or build them and draw upon this Department for the amount."³² His fears were realized. In the shallow bays of

³¹ Capts. Letters. July 30, 1802.

³²J. MSS., s. 3, v. 1, No. 34. Aug. 31, 1802.

the Barbary Coast or on Lake Ponchartrain, they were successful; but, in the deep harbors of our Atlantic Coast, they soon showed wherein their weakness lay.

Congress, nevertheless, proceeded to authorize the gunboats. In 1803, 15; in 1804, 25; in 1805, 50; and in 1806, 188 more.³³ It is only fair to say that this gunboat building was only part of a general program laid down by Robert Smith for the extension of the Navy. In 1805 he asked that "all the frigates should be put in commission, that we should build the six 74's, already started, and six more to reinforce them."³⁴ Had this part of his program been followed, we would have been much better prepared for war in 1812 than we actually were.

Something was radically wrong with the Navy. As Commodore Preble angrily declared in 1805: "Of the 11 frigates still retained only one (the Constitution) was in good repair."³⁵ The truth of the matter was that all the money appropriated by Congress for a number of years had been spent on the Tripolitan war. As a result expenditures on the Navy Yards and on the vessels sent home from the Mediterranean had everywhere been cut down to the last degree. Less than \$10,000.00 had been spent in improving the various Navy Yards and this was far too small a sum, as was afterwards found, to prevent the Naval stores from rotting where they lay. Jefferson had determined that Washington should be as much the center of Naval as of Governmental activities. His choice was unwise and illustrates again the folly of civilian interference in technical problems. The Eastern branch contained barely 18 feet of water, and it was only on the highest tide that the frigates could come up to their dock. Still, something might have been made of the place had the plan of Mr. Benjamin H. Latrobe (which Mr. Semmes has so well described) for a dry dock been adopted. Under this plan there was to have been an upper and a lower basin, the former for repairing and the latter for storing ships.³⁶ But

³³ J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 54. Sept. 9, 1805; also R. S. MSS., Sept. 16, 1805.

³⁴ J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 55. Sept. 10, 1805.

³⁵ J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 10. Jan. 1, 1805.

³⁶ J. MSS., s. 3, v. 1, No. 40. July 13, 1802.

Congress failed to appropriate money for this scheme, and the ships lay rotting in the mud of the Eastern Branch.

The most interesting part of the gunboat building lies in the fact that nearly half of them were built on the waters of the Ohio. The Western attitude of mind is indicated by Henry Ford's to build submarines. Nothing seems easier than to build a boat: in reality, nothing is more difficult. The Western gunboats that were built were "badly built and the seams were uncommonly wide owing to the plank being unseasoned when put on."³⁷ Half of them were condemned as unfit for use or were partially rebuilt. The decision to build these boats on the Western waters resulted in a greater waste than can be estimated.

There were two reasons why contracts were let to men on the Western waters: one, strategic; the other, political. If war came with either France or Spain, it was feared that New Orleans would be the first point of attack, and gunboats built on the Ohio could reach there sooner than those built on the Coast. It was thought, too, that they could be built for less money. But cheap timber was offset by the high cost of labor, and in addition all the rigging and ironwork had to be carried over the mountains on muleback. A gunboat which cost \$7,000.00 in Baltimore, cost \$12,000.00 in Cincinnati.

The real reason was a political one. Kentucky was supposedly rebellious: Aaron Burr was mysteriously moving up and down the Ohio. It was thought that if contracts were let to staunch Republicans in that part of the country, that these men would serve as rallying points to hold Kentucky safe. When it was finally decided to arrest Burr, orders for his arrest were sent to Matthew Lyon, to Henry Carberry and John Smith, all of whom had been engaged in building gunboats. They obeyed the orders; Burr's scheme failed; and thus perhaps the building of the Western gunboats was justified.³⁸

Meanwhile, British frigates were hovering on our coast and

³⁷ Capts. Letters. Sep. 4, 1806.

³⁸ Misc. Letters. Jan. 15, 1807. J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 31, Jun. 11, 1805.

Robert Smith was compelled to pray that "some strong equinoctial wind might force them for a time from our coast."³⁹ The next year, 1805, there were Spanish pirates on the coast. The supply ship *Huntress* was taken within the waters of the Chesapeake and had to be ransomed from the pirates.⁴⁰

While our coast was thus bared of defence, Robert Smith had collected in the Mediterranean the largest fleet that was to be gathered under a single flag until the days of the Civil War. It was not failure against Tripoli that induced us to make peace in the Mediterranean, but the desire to protect our own coast. This desire was increased by the fear of a war with England. The Chesapeake affair took place on July 7th and a week later the final orders for the withdrawal of our fleet were sent. But it was not till six months later that Robert Smith was relieved of his anxiety for the fleet, by the arrival of the last of Captain Chauncey's vessels at Baltimore.^{41 42}

The Affair of the Chesapeake deserves more than a passing mention; from an American point of view, it was a shameful affair. An American frigate (the *Chesapeake*) had been fired upon by a British man-of-war. Four of the *Chesapeake* crew had been removed by force. It did not seem possible that war could be avoided. The cause of this outbreak was the presence on the *Chesapeake* of four men whom the British claimed as deserters from the *Melampus*. It has generally been assumed that the British had no justification for their action.

But a study of the records shows some curious facts. Robert Smith had ordered that the case of the three men in question should be investigated before the *Chesapeake* sailed.⁴³ Capt. Barron of the *Chesapeake* had written to Robert Smith before sailing that he was deficient "nearly one hundred men in our crew—who had deserted."⁴⁴ Furthermore, when Robert Smith

³⁹ J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 6. Sep. 14, 1804.

⁴⁰ J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 23c, Jun. 12, 1805; No. 24, Jun. 24, 1805.

⁴¹ G. A. Barbary Corsairs, 223.

⁴² Letter Book, Jul. 14, 1807.

⁴³ Paullin: Rogers, 184.

⁴⁴ Cpts. Letters: Jun. 11, 1807.

issued his orders (Nov. 17, 1807⁴⁵ that "all aliens should be discharged from our ships," Stephen Decatur hastened to protest that it was impossible to determine the nationality of our sailors. When the *Constitution* reached Baltimore, her crew consisted of 419 men. Of these, 241 claimed that they were Americans, 52 were English, 97 were Irish, and the rest were of various nationalities.⁴⁶ It is no wonder that with these facts against him, Secretary of State Madison found it hard to maintain his claim for indemnity for the men of the *Chesapeake*. Jefferson had decided on the policy of Embargo, and Non-Importation, in preference to war, and from this time on till 1812 the Navy acted as a police to prevent violations of the Embargo.

Robert Smith's order of June 6, 1808, to Stephen Decatur is typical of this exceedingly unromantic period: He is to proceed to St. Mary's, Ga., where there is a "combination between some American citizens and British subjects for carrying of supplies and introducing British goods into this country."⁴⁷ Deer Island, off the Maine Coast, was another of these obscure points to which British vessels came to receive American produce in this illegal way. The practice was hard to stop, and the despised gunboats here made themselves useful. In shallow bays and inlets from Passamaquoddy to Beaufort, they guarded the shore and checked the illegal traffic.

The special permissions issued by the Secretary of the Treasury, allowing vessels to sail in spite of the embargo, did not make this policing any the easier. In 1808 there were at Baltimore at least 20 such cases of evasions of the law which the Navy could not prevent.⁴⁸ That these boats were sent to Vera Cruz to bring back specie; that this money was sent to England and helped to maintain our balance of trade does not alter the fact that Albert Gallatin was violating the law.⁴⁹ As in the quarrel between Gideon Welles and Chase in 1862 over the

⁴⁵ Cpts. Letters: Nov. 17, 1807.

⁴⁶ Cpts. Letters: Jan. 13, 1808.

⁴⁷ Letters to Cpts. Jun. 6, 1808.

⁴⁸ Balt. Customs "Departures." Also Letters to Captains, Dec. 28, 1808.

⁴⁹ S. S. to A. G. July 19, 1807.

issue of permits to trade in cotton, the Navy stood for a strict enforcement of the law, while the Treasury stood for its evasion. Such action on the part of Gallatin could only have caused trouble in the Cabinet.

It has always been the policy of the Navy to aid inventors and men who were pushing forward new industries. In this, as in so many other Naval activities, Robert Smith established a precedent. Before the Revolution, Paul Revere had been a manufacturer of copper in a small way. In 1801, he applied to Robert Smith for a loan of \$10,000.00 to enable him to procure machinery for rolling the copper into sheets. This was granted and after several years of struggle, the Navy was able to sheathe its vessels with American copper manufactured in this country.⁵⁰ In a similar way encouragement was given to the DuPont Powder Works; the Roosevelt Copper Plant; and to the Mt. Pleasant Iron Foundry, where Samuel Hughes cast shot for the Navy.⁵¹ In Kentucky the building of the gunboats stimulated the manufacture of "iron, tar, tools, and liquors."

About the same time Robert Smith secured \$5,000.00 for Robert Fulton's experiments with torpedoes. Fulton's idea was essentially that of the modern torpedo. A small, swift boat, aided by oars, was to carry the torpedo close to the vessel which was under attack. Once within range the torpedo was to be fastened to the doomed vessel's side by means of an ordinary harpoon. In that day of wooden vessels and expert whaling masters, this was no mean weapon; and this weapon, through the agency of Robert Smith, belonged to the United States.

The writer realizes that he has not been able to draw a personal portrait of his hero. Robert Smith left few personal letters and contemporary opinion is silent with regard to his work as Secretary of the Navy. Only two accounts of him have come down to us. The one by the French Ambassador, Serurier, pictures Robert Smith, then Secretary of State, as the equal of Gallatin; the other, by Randolph of Roanoke, pictures Robert

⁵⁰ Misc. Letters. Apr. 17, 1801.

⁵¹ Misc. Letters. Mar. 18, 1805.

Smith as quailing in ignorance before Randolph's questions, "like a whipt schoolboy." This last picture like all pen sketches by Randolph can not be accepted by the modern writer with any degree of veracity on account of Randolph's well-known love of exaggeration, and invective. The possible explanation is that Robert Smith preferred, for Departmental reasons, not to answer Randolph's questions.⁵²

When Robert Smith left the Department, the officers united in wishing him well, and in thanking him for his nine years of service. Commenting on this, James Fennimore Cooper says: "He rendered himself justly popular with the service . . . and left behind him the feeling that (the interests of the Navy) were intrusted to one well disposed to serve his country and the Navy."⁵³ Jefferson bade him good-bye with a thought of the many years in which they had been "connected in service and in society" and thanked him for "the aid and relief in an important part of the public cares."⁵⁴

The writer's own opinion of Robert Smith is one of sincere respect. With inadequate means, he waged a successful war abroad which trained our young officers for the later War of 1812. He made one great mistake, it is true, in not opposing the policy of gunboat defence, but it must be remembered that this policy was urged on him by Jefferson and others and was adopted with reluctance, and even from this policy benefit was derived in the days of Kentucky's unrest and New England separatism. Had Robert Smith's energy not been diverted by this unfortunate policy, he would have been *remembered* as one of the greatest of our Secretaries. As it is, in one of the most trying periods of our country's history, he kept alive a proper *esprit de corps*, and to the last remained popular with the severest of all Navy critics—the officers and men.

The lack of success of the last part of his administration has been attributed to the weakness and faulty organization of the

⁵² Adams Life of Randolph; p. 211, R. to Nicholson.

⁵³ J. F. C. Navy, I, 301.

⁵⁴ J. MSS., s. 1, v. 12, 796. June 10, 1809.

Department.⁵⁵ The writer believes rather that they should be attributed to the lack of harmony and confidence between Robert Smith and Gallatin. Jefferson's farewell letter closed with the wish that in the new administration peace and harmony might prevail. How far that wish was fulfilled is still an unknown chapter.

IN MEMORIAM

COMPILED BY JOHN C. FELL

III

FRANCISCO AUGUSTA ANZA, Private, 19th Battalion, Middlesex Regt.

Born at Puerta Plata, Santo Domingo, West Indies, October 6, 1896.

Killed at Archiet-le-Grand, France.

Francisco Augusta Anza was the son of J. C. Anza and Louisa Anza of Puerta Plata, Santo Domingo, West Indies, and brother of Jose B. Anza, Luis Anza, Mana T. Anza, and Mrs. Angela Progson of New York. He was the husband of Marguerite K. Anza of Port Deposit, Maryland.

He received his early education in European countries, coming to the United States in 1909. He then spent three years at Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md. On graduation from this institution he became associated with the firm of Charles Hires Mfg. Co., Philadelphia, Pa., where he was employed in the chemical laboratory. He left this position to enlist in the British Army.

In March, 1916, he enlisted in the British Army at Liverpool, England. After a short period of training he was sent to the western front with the 19th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, where he saw active service until he was badly wounded

⁵⁵ G. A. Barbary Corsairs. 216.

in the right leg, in September, 1916. After six months in a hospital he went back to Flanders for four months, when he was again wounded, this time in the head, causing him to remain eight months in the hospital.

Private Anza was then offered a discharge, but refused the same, as he desired to get back into action. In the fall of 1917 he was sent to the Italian front and served there until the spring of 1918, when he returned to France and was mortally wounded on March 24, 1918, when the big spring offensive started toward Paris.

GEORGE MCINTIRE BAKER, Second Lieutenant, Company I,
313th Infantry, 79th Division.

Born at Chicago, Ill.

Killed at Montfaucon, France, September 26, 1918.

George McIntire Baker was the son of the late Samuel Baker and the late Louise M. Baker and brother of James H. Baker, Katherine B. Houston and Elizabeth B. Symington, all of Rodger's Forge, Md.

His early education was received at the Lawrenceville School, New Jersey, going thence into the banking business in Chicago, remaining there only a short while, when he took up the real estate business in New York, after which he came to Maryland and lived with his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Symington, of Rodger's Forge, Md.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war he volunteered his services and was sent to the First Officers' Training Camp, Fort Myer, Virginia, graduating as a second lieutenant of infantry in May, 1917. He was assigned to Camp Meade, where he subsequently became a member of Company L, 313th Infantry, 79th Division, sailing with the organization on July 5, 1918.

The following extract from a letter of Lieut. Col. Janney's to his sister fittingly describes his last action:

"I want to tell you how wonderfully George Baker fought

and died. He was commanding his platoon when the word came to go over. He took his platoon on and on without a halt or pause, through wire and trenches and hostile fire. Just as the order to halt was given George's Sergeant was wounded by the machine-gun fire and fell by his side. George refused to go to a safe place and under fire deliberately and tenderly bound up the Sergeant's wounds. Just as he finished two bullets from the same machine gun struck him and he died instantly. His example was an inspiration to his men and they were devoted to him. No one could hope for a finer end, out in front fighting, and even then forgetting his own safety to help a fallen comrade."

EARL SCOTT BUCHANAN, Private 135th Machine Gun Battalion of 37th Division.

Born at Barrellsville, Md., February 13, 1896.

Killed at Olsene, Belgium, October 31, 1918.

Earl Scott Buchanan was the son of Howard Buchanan and Elizabeth Buchanan and brother of Alex. R. Buchanan, George D. Buchanan, Wm. E. Buchanan, Walter H. Buchanan and Sarah Kathryn Buchanan.

His boyhood days were spent at Barrellsville, Md., and his early schooling was obtained at the public school nearby. He continued his education until he was 18 years old, when he became interested in the lumber business, going into his father's firm.

On April 26, 1918, he was inducted into the Army by the Local Board of Frostburg, and was sent to Camp Meade, Maryland. After remaining three weeks at this camp he was transferred to Camp Lee, Virginia, being assigned to the 135th Machine Gun Battalion of the 37th Division. After three weeks of intensive training his battalion received orders to proceed to the port of embarkation, leaving Hoboken on June 11, on board the S. S. Leviathan.

Private Buchanan fought with the 135th Machine Gun

Battalion as dispatch carrier in the Baccarat Section until September 25th, when the Division was taken to the North of Verdun, where they were used in the Meuse Argonne offensive. Later they fought at the St. Mihiel Sector at Wiltje Bel, near Ypres, where they were attached to a division of the French Army at the disposition of the King of Belgium. Altho the Division encountered stubborn resistance they advanced to Olsene, where on the morning of October 31, 1918, Private Buchanan was killed while going over the top.

GALLOWAY GRINNELL CHESTON, First Lieutenant U. S. Air Service to the 206th Aero Squadron, Royal Flying Corps.

Born at West River, Md., May 3, 1896.

Killed in action, Courtrai, Belgium, July 29, 1918.

Galloway G. Cheston was the son of the late Galloway Cheston and Henrietta McCulloch Cheston and the step-son of Commodore T. Porter, U. S. N.

He attended private schools in Annapolis, Maryland, until fifteen years old, when he enrolled at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, and would have graduated in June, 1917. He enlisted in the First Officers' Training Camp at Fort Myer, Virginia, May 3, 1917, and after the completion of this course was assigned to Cornell University Ground School, graduating with honors in September, 1917. He then sailed for England, September 17, 1917, where he took the remainder of his training for Pilot. On March 1, 1918, he was commissioned First Lieutenant of Aviation. After finishing this training he was assigned to the 206th Aero Squadron of the Royal Flying Corps, which was located about half way between Boulogne and St. Omer.

Lieutenant Cheston took part in a number of air raids before he was killed, showing extreme bravery and fortitude. One of his comrades relates in the following manner the story

of his death: "The day that 'Chess' did not return our squadron was very hard hit. They set out to bomb Courtrai railroad station and yards, which at that time were at least fifteen miles beyond the front lines. 'Chess' had been having a little engine trouble for two or three days preceding, but it was not serious enough to prevent his crossing the lines. On this raid about 4 P. M. they had to run through a pretty stiff 'archie' barrage, but as they approached the target at about fourteen thousand feet altitude the barrage died away. They dropped their bombs, and as the formation turned it was noticed that 'Chess' was slightly lower than he should have been, but not seriously out of his position in the formation. Just as they were turning they were attacked by about three times their number of Huns, and from there on it was a running fight back to the lines. Several pilots and observers noticed that one machine seemed to be losing altitude, as if the engine was not giving its full power, and it was assumed that the pilot was depressing the nose of his machine in order to keep up his speed and not fall behind the others, thus keeping under the formation for protection. Each machine was engaged in desperate fighting all this time and making for the lines, so that no one really had an opportunity to look about him to see how the others were faring. However, one pilot states that he saw 'Chess' machine, which was getting lower and lower, though still under control, and the last anyone saw it was surrounded by five or six Huns, and was manoeuvring desperately to get away or beat them, but obviously the odds were too great."

The honors heaped upon some who have returned is only possible by the efforts of those that died, and the glory accorded to them is but the reflected glory of those that were sacrificed.

STANLEY L. COCHRANE, Second Lieutenant, 166th Aero Squadron.

Born at Crisfield, Md., December 14, 1894.

Killed in air battle over the German lines, October 31, 1918.

Stanley L. Cochrane was the son of Arthur B. Cochrane and Amy W. Cochrane and brother of Arthur B. Cochrane, Jr., Ada B. Cochrane and Mary H. Cochrane, all of Crisfield, Maryland.

His early life was spent at Crisfield, Maryland, where he graduated from the Crisfield High School in June, 1911. He then took up the study of law at the University of Maryland, completing his course in June, 1914. From this time until he entered the Army he practiced law at Crisfield, where he also took an active part in Democratic politics.

Stanley L. Cochrane enlisted on May 4, 1917, for instruction at Fort Myer, Virginia, and was admitted to the Officers' Training Camp at Fort Myer on May 8th. After serving the full term of three months he was recommended for the aviation service and was ordered to Cornell University for preparatory training, and on November 11, 1917, sailed for the aviation fields of France to complete his training.

On June 1, 1918, he was commissioned Lieutenant and was assigned for active duty on June 6, 1918, and took part in many air raids, exhibiting remarkable courage and daring.

He was officially connected with the 166th Aero Squadron and his last work was done while stationed in the Argonne Meuse Sector. He met death on October 31, 1918, while participating in a air raid over the German lines. The aeroplane in which he was flying was compelled to leave the formation due to engine trouble and the German pursuit planes in the vicinity immediately attacked him in large numbers and forced his machine to the ground, though not until he had shot down two German planes. Lieutenant Cochrane's bravery in operating the guns even after he was mortally wounded enabled his pilot to escape.

For his action in this battle he was cited for extraordinary

bravery by his commanding officer and was recommended for the Distinguished Service Cross. He was buried at Providers-Sur-Meuse.

HENRY GILBERT COSTIN, Private Company H, 115th Infantry Regiment.

Born at Baltimore, Md., June 15, 1898.

Killed in the Argonne Forest, France, October 8, 1919.

Henry Gilbert Costin was the son of the late Hythron J. Costin and Lizzie Coston and brother of Paul M. Costin, Osborne Costin and Mrs. Miskel McGill, all of Baltimore City. He married Miss Hythron Johnson August 13, 1917, who was the daughter of Capt. G. C. Johnson, of the U. S. Coast Guard.

On his graduation from Baltimore City College in 1915 he joined the firm of J. R. Dunn Mercantile Agencies. After being with this firm for a year he enlisted in the Maryland National Guard June 17, 1916. A few days later the regiment, which was then the old Fifth, left for the Mexican border, where he served for seven months.

On the return of the regiment they were mustered into the Federal Service, then sent to a Mobilization Camp at Anniston, Alabama (Camp McClellan). After a period of ten months training he sailed for France as a member of Company H, 115th Regiment, 79th Division.

On September 17, 1918, Costin and sixty of his companions were caught in a German gas attack while holding a part of the Alsace front and Costin, forgetting his own danger, administered first aid to his comrades before he fell semi-conscious. He was sent back to the hospital and awarded the Croix de Guerre.

He returned to the trenches on October 6, just as the 115th was going into action above Verdun, when two days later he was killed. The Congressional Medal was awarded on recommendation of General Pershing, "for conspicuous gal-

lantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy near Bois de Consenvoye, France, October 8, 1918." When the advance of his platoon had been held up by machine gun fire, and when a request had been made for an automatic rifle team to charge the nest, Private Costin was the first to volunteer. Advancing with his team under a terrific fire of the enemy artillery machine gun and trench mortar, he continued after all his companions had become casualties and he himself had been severely wounded. He operated his rifle until he collapsed. His act resulted in the capture of about one hundred prisoners and several machine guns.

He succumbed to the effect of his wound shortly after the *accomplishment of his heroic deed.*

THE LIFE OF THOMAS JOHNSON

EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE

PART THIRD

CHAPTER VI

WITH GEORGE WASHINGTON. ENDEAVORS TO PROMOTE NAVIGATION ON THE POTOMAC

The year 1732, which saw the birth of George Washington and Richard Henry Lee and Thomas Johnson, also witnessed the first step in the development of the western territory of Maryland. For in that memorable year vast areas of the fertile soil in the western part of the province were offered by Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore, to the subjects residing in tide-water. A number of wealthy men eagerly took advantage of Lord Baltimore's offer. Patrick Dulany acquired the soil upon which the city of Frederick now stands; Charles Carroll, father

of the Signer, secured possession of 15,000 acres in Carrollton Manor; Benjamin Tasker received a patent for Tasker's Chance, embracing over 8,000 acres; and the renowned Daniel Dulany likewise obtained thousands of acres of the fertile soil in the valley of the Monocacy.

The following picturesque description of the forest land along the upper Potomac at the time of the birth of Thomas Johnson has been written by J. Thomas Scharf in his *History of Western Maryland*:

"The early settlers of Maryland and Virginia kept to the navigable streams, and it was many years afterwards before the fertile lands in the valleys in the neighborhood of the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mountains began to be dotted with the log cabins of an advancing frontier. No pioneer had ventured into these solitudes, whose sleeping echoes were only waked by the scream of the eagle or the whoop of the painted warrior. Neither Gist nor Cresap had yet seen the wilds of Western Maryland. The Potomac then flowed in solitary grandeur for more than three hundred miles through an unbroken wilderness, its gentle surface only disturbed by the wing of the wild-fowl or the dip of the savage paddle."

Sixteen years later all that portion of the colony now known as Western Maryland—the Sixth Congressional District, comprising Garrett, Allegany, Washington, Frederick, and Montgomery counties, as well as much adjacent territory—was erected by the Provincial Assembly as *Frederick County*. Some time between the birth of Thomas Johnson and the establishment of Frederick County by act of Assembly commences the story of the effort to secure an easy means of communication between the Eastern settlements and the West. The narrative begins about the year 1740, when Thomas Cresap, a sturdy pioneer from Yorkshire, England, built himself a fortified stone house near a deserted village of the Shawnees a few miles above the junction of the North and South branches of the Potomac. "The English colonel"—as Cresap was called—was sent to the back country by Charles Calvert to guard the interests of Lord Baltimore against the claims of Lord Fairfax, and in the treaty

of June 30, 1744, between the Six Nations and the Province of Maryland, he is mentioned as the owner of a cabin about two miles above the uppermost fork of the Potomac.

The year 1748, marking as it does the origin of Frederick County, Maryland, also marks the first vision George Washington caught of the western section of Maryland. The future President was born at Wakefield, in Westmoreland County, Virginia; lived from 1735 to 1739 on the estate now known as Mount Vernon, and was taken at the age of seven to a home on the Rappahannock. His father, Augustine Washington, died in the spring of 1743 and in his will devised his estate on Hunting Creek, near Alexandria, to Lawrence Washington, a son of his first wife. This beautiful country seat stretched for miles along the Potomac and bordered the estates of the Fairfaxes, the Masons and other distinguished families of Virginia. Lawrence Washington married the daughter of Hon. William Fairfax, cousin of Lord Thomas Fairfax, in 1743, and erected a substantial mansion upon the highest eminence along the Potomac front of his domain and named the spot "Mount Vernon" in honor of Admiral Vernon, under whom he fought in the South American expedition in 1741-1742. When Lawrence was fairly settled with his bride, little George came as a frequent visitor to Mount Vernon. It was at this time that Thomas Johnson, according to the accepted tradition in the Johnson family, commenced his lifelong friendship with the Father of His Country. Young George had already been a steadfast friend of Richard Henry Lee, a bright lad one month his elder. From earliest childhood Washington and Lee had been intimate and the letters written between them at the early age of nine are supposed to be the very earliest epistles of these American statesmen. On his visits to Mount Vernon, George Washington met the children in the Fairfax family. Lord Fairfax, who had been educated at Oxford but who had been made surly and misanthropic by disappointment in love, was at that time sojourning with William Fairfax on the beautiful estate, "Belvoir," and on the Lord's vast domain young Washington did some of his first surveying, running

the lines with admirable precision. At the age of 16 he was public surveyor of Culpepper County and thenceforward he lived regularly with his half-brother at Mount Vernon. During leisure hours he hunted the fox. The tradition that Thomas Johnson, junior, was a companion and playmate of Washington when about 14 or 15 years of age, is handed down by Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, of Washington, D. C. In her admirable paper on the "Ohio Company," which she read on December 14th, 1909, before the Columbia Historical Society, she said:

"Meantime, about 1747, two young gentlemen, George Washington and George William Fairfax, were amusing themselves in surveying fields and outlying lots about Mount Vernon and Belvoir on the lower Potomac; an occasional companion was a slim lad of about the same age with a pleasant, refined countenance lighted by a pair of wonderful dark eyes; he cared little for horses and athletic sports, but was reading law in Mr. Bordley's office at Annapolis; this stripling was Thomas Johnson, Maryland's greatest son. Thus early commenced the life-long friendship between these men. The cynical Lord Fairfax, who was at the time visiting his cousin, became interested in the surveying and in the young man who arrived at such accurate results, and who he was told had his own fortune to seek. He chose the shy, awkward and overgrown lad for his companion on many excursions, to the amusement of a bright lady of the family, who remarked that the two must be congenial company, 'as the Lord never spoke at all and George only when addressed.'"¹³

When Lord Fairfax sent out an experienced surveyor to explore his territory and locate his northern lines, he employed the two young gentlemen to go along as assistants, paying each the goodly sum of a daily doubloon. Thomas Cresap, being a surveyor, had located the western boundary of Maryland, and in March, 1748, the party of Virginians crossed the Potomac into Maryland to pay their respects to "the English colonel." On Friday, March 18th, according to Washington's diary, the river was six feet higher than usual and was still rising, due

¹³ Bacon-Foster, *Potomac Route to the West* (Columbia Historical Society), page 13.

to the heavy rains which were bringing down the melted snow from the mountains. The party camped out in the field at night, and on Sunday evening, finding the river not much abated, they swam their horses over to Charles Polk's, in Maryland, for pasturage; and on Monday morning they paddled over in a canoe and traveled all day in a drenching rain until they arrived at Colonel Cresap's—a distance of 40 miles over “the worst road that ever was trod by man or beast.”

In his diary Washington explains how it rained until Wednesday afternoon, March 23rd, when “we were agreeably surpris'd at y. sight of thirty odd Indians coming from War with only one Scalp. We had some Liquor with us of which we gave them Part it elevating there Spirits put them in y. Humour of Dauncing of whom we had a War Daunce.” Hence, on this early trip, several months before Frederick County was created, Washington, by “climbing rugged hills, swimming his horse through turbid torrents, sleeping in the open woods beside the lonely camp-fire,” not only built up a robust health and a great store of strength and endurance, but also caught his first vision of the upper Potomac and the West. Moreover, Lord Fairfax was pleased with the young surveyor's work and soon appointed him surveyor-in-chief with headquarters at his hunting lodge in the Shenandoah Valley. “In the three years thus occupied,” says Mrs. Bacon-Foster, “Washington had constant opportunity to become very familiar with the upper Potomac in its various stages of drouth and high water. He must have often visited the depot of the Ohio Company at Will's Creek and the two-storied, stockaded home of Thomas Cresap.”

It was in 1748—the year of Washington's surveying trip—that the famous Ohio Company was organized. And in the following year this company, composed of a small number of wealthy subjects of Virginia and Maryland, secured from King George II, through the Governor of Virginia (the colony which claimed all the territory to the west as far as Lake Erie), a charter and grant to 500,000 acres of land west of the Alleghanies. The Ohio Company acquired the land free of rent for ten years on condition that they select 200,000 acres imme-

diately upon which they were required to erect a fort, maintain a garrison and induce the settlement of one hundred families within a period of seven years. If these terms were complied with, the company was to receive the further grant of 300,000 acres. Thomas Lee, at that time President of His Majesty's Council in Virginia, held two of the 20 shares and was the president of the company. John Hanbury & Company, of London, holding two shares, were the London agents. John Mercer, one of the most distinguished lawyers in America, was chosen secretary and counsel. George Mason was the treasurer. Augustine and Lawrence Washington also held shares. Three shares were held in Maryland. Thomas Cresap became the manager in the field. Upon the advice of Colonel Cresap, Christopher Gist was engaged to select the vast tract of land by actual observation and to endeavor to secure the friendship of the red men. The organization of the Ohio Company was a signal of alarm for the French. The embers of hatred between Great Britain and France, which had been smoldering for many years as a result of conflicting territorial claims, burst forth into a flame when the frontiersmen of these two nations attempted to colonize the Ohio Valley. So the great contest for supremacy between the Courts of Paris and London was destined to be decided in America.

Undaunted, the members of the Ohio Company commenced at once eagerly to explore the country. In 1750 a storehouse was constructed at Will's Creek—the present site of Cumberland—and it was stocked with goods which they ordered from London to be bartered with the Indians. The following year Colonel Cresap selected an Indian to lay out a road from thence to the mouth of the Monongahela. Robert Dinwiddie became Crown Governor of Virginia in 1752 and the next year he heard the news of the imprisonment of a number of British traders and the order of the French military commanders to erect forts from Lake Erie to the headwaters of the Allegheny. All students of American history are thoroughly familiar with the aftermath—how Governor Dinwiddie, now a prominent member of the Ohio Company, picked George Washington to

carry the message of warning to the French against further intrusion of the Ohio Valley. On account of the firm friendship existing from an early age between Washington and Johnson—a friendship which casts illumination upon both characters—it is appropriate at this point to visualize Washington as he appeared on his dangerous mission across the Alleghanies. He has been admirably described at this stage of his career by Mr. Edward S. Ellis in the following words:

“The person whom he (Gov. Dinwiddie) had selected was about twenty-one years old, six feet two inches in height, and the swiftest runner, the longest thrower, the best wrestler, the most skilful horseman, the strongest swimmer, and the finest athlete in all the country round. Besides these striking physical traits, he was truthful, high-minded, a fine soldier and an experienced surveyor, and withal the soul of honor, a person, in short, who from his earliest boyhood lived in accordance with the Golden Rule.”

Frederick County, Maryland, it should be noted in this connection, was crossed by Washington in November, 1753, on this memorable journey to Lake Erie, where General St. Pierre, the commander of the French forces in the West, was stationed. France, it will be remembered, claimed the valley of the Ohio by virtue of discovery and occupation; and St. Pierre replied that he was acting under military instructions. Of Washington's return trip, most of the time with Christopher Gist as his sole companion, Mr. Ridpath gives the following vivid description:

“It was one of the most solitary marches ever made by man. There in the desolate wilderness was the future President of the United States. Clad in the robe of an Indian, with gun in hand and knapsack strapped to his shoulder, struggling through interminable snows; sleeping with frozen clothes on a bed of pine-brush; breaking through the treacherous ice of rapid streams; guided by day by a pocket compass, and at night by the North Star, seen at intervals through the leafless trees; fired at by a prowling savage from his covert not fifteen steps away; thrown from a raft into the rushing Allegheny; escaping to an island and lodging there until the river

was frozen over; plunging again into the forest; reaching Gist's settlement and then the Potomac—the strong-limbed young ambassador came back without wound or scar to the capital of Virginia. For his flesh was not made to be torn with bullets or to be eaten by the wolves. The defiant despatch of St. Pierre was laid before Governor Dinwiddie, and the first public service of Washington was accomplished."

Upon reaching Williamsburg, January 16, 1754, Washington made a report to the Governor and Council, and doubtless suggested the great importance—from a military, however, rather than from a commercial standpoint—of opening a communication between tidewater and the western settlements.

Thus, George Washington at an early day conceived the idea of connecting the East and the West. Frequently, he explored the territory of Frederick County along the Potomac and while Thomas Johnson was busily engaged in his work under Thomas Jennings and Stephen Bordley at Annapolis, the young Virginian was gaining a clear and comprehensive vision of the possibilities of the West. The fact must not be overlooked that Frederick Town itself—the seat of Frederick County, near which Thomas Johnson took up his residence during the Revolution to spend the latter half of his life—was quite familiar to George Washington during the days of the French and Indian War. It was at Frederick on the 24th of April, 1755, that Governor Sharpe met General Edward Braddock, Benjamin Franklin and Washington. Mr. Franklin was then the British Postmaster-General of the American Colonies and he came to Frederick to aid in forwarding supplies to the frontier. This was the first time that the Philadelphia philosopher clasped hands with the great soldier-statesman of Virginia.

In the same year Stephen Bordley, Mr. Johnson's legal preceptor, was admitted to the bar of Frederick County, but it was not until five years later—1760—that Thomas Johnson was admitted to practice at Frederick Town. The Frederick County Court was at that time in its very infancy. The lawyers who first put in their appearance at Frederick were Daniel Dulany and William Cumming, who were admitted in 1749, one year

after the county was established. Then came Edward Dorsey and Henry Darnall in 1752. No other lawyers appeared until the arrival of Mr. Bordley, Richard Chase and Lloyd Buchanan in 1755. Five years later came Eastburn Bullit and Thomas Johnson, Jr.

On this trip to Frederick Town in his twenty-eighth year, Thomas Johnson was deeply impressed with the beauties and the wonderful latent resources of Frederick County and it was not long afterwards—on March 20, 1761—that he exhibited his faith in the future of Western Maryland by purchasing a piece of Frederick County land.¹⁴ Whilst it was a small investment—only 6 acres at one pound per acre—the deal was the beginning of a career in realty transactions unparalleled in the land records of Frederick County.

Before the close of the French and Indian War, Mr. Johnson was considering the subject of promoting “water carriage” on the Potomac. About a month before he entered the Provincial Assembly as a Delegate from Anne Arundel County, there appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, in the issue of February 11, 1762, the following announcement:

“The opening of the river Patowmack and making it passable for small craft, from Fort Cumberland at Will’s Creek to the Great Falls, will be of the greatest advantage to Virginia and Maryland, by facilitating commerce with the back inhabitants, who will not then have more than 20 miles land carriage to harbour, where ships of great burthen load annually, whereas at present many have 150; and what will perhaps be considered of still greater importance, is the easy communication it will afford with the waters of the Ohio. The whole land carriage from Alexandria or George Town will then be short of 90 miles; whereas the Pennsylvanians (who at present monopolize the very lucrative skin and fur trades) from their nearest sea port have at least 300: a circumstance which must necessarily force that gainful trade into this channel, should this very useful work be affected; and that it may, is the unanimous opinion of the best judges, and at moderate expense compared with the

¹⁴ Liber G, folio 142.

extraordinary convenience and advantages which must result from it."

The forceful style of this announcement indicates that it might have been written by Thomas Johnson himself. Be that as it may, it is a certainty that Mr. Johnson was associated with Washington from this time—at least one year before the French and Indian War was brought to a close by the treaty of 1763—in the project of making the Potomac River navigable. The communication in the *Gazette* announced that 22 managers had been appointed—11 for the colony of Maryland and 11 for the colony of Virginia—and that subscriptions would be solicited from the public. On the 10th of June, 1762, the *Gazette* contained the following announcement:

"The managers have now the pleasure to inform the public, that subscriptions are filling very fast, and that people in general, but more especially in the back countries, and those bordering on the Patowmack, discover so much alacrity in promoting the affair, that there is not the least doubt that sum will be raised, sufficient to carry on the work by the day appointed for the meeting, 20th of July next."

The promoters of the celebrated Ohio Company, according to Gen. Bradley T. Johnson, assembled at Frederick Town in 1762 and there discussed the ways and means of opening the western lands to tidewater. Many of the wealthiest and most influential men in the Southern colonies became interested in the "affair." Chief among these were Lord Dunmore of Virginia and Governor Tryon of North Carolina, afterwards of New York. They appointed Lawrence Washington manager and George Washington and Thomas Johnson, Jr., then in their thirtieth year, were associated together in the project. Mr. Johnson's brothers were also interested in the company.

Credit is given to Thomas Johnson and his brothers for being the first men in America to advocate the formation of a company for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Potomac River. "Projects for clearing the channels in the Potomac River," says Mrs. Bacon-Foster, "began to be agitated in the

sixties. Probably the Johnson brothers, at Frederick, were the first to suggest organizing a company to improve the navigation. They had early settled in that rich valley, had prospered, were progressive and public-spirited citizens. Thomas Johnson was doubtless interested with them in many enterprises and joined them in the county in 1779. Studying the noble river that sweeps in graceful curves past the valley it was not strange that they should become impatient of the heavy toll to be paid on the wagon transportation to Baltimore of the products of their farms and furnaces, and seek another outlet, so Thomas Johnson appears to have attempted to organize a company to raise the means for improving the navigation of the Potomac."

Shortly afterwards Washington and Johnson heard with amazement and alarm reports of outrages committed by the savages in the western part of Frederick County. After the treaty of Paris brought the contest between England and France to a close, the British traders began again to move westward over the Alleghanies. This vanguard aroused Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, who journeyed stealthily among the tribes and obtained their solemn pledge to massacre the white men in order to put a stop to the encroachments. In June, 1763, the blow was struck.

"Another tempest has arisen upon our frontiers," wrote Washington, "and the alarm spreads wider than ever. In short, the inhabitants are so apprehensive of danger that no families remain above the Conococheague road, and many are gone below. The harvests are, in a manner, lost, and the distresses of the settlements are evident and manifold." In a state of misery and destitution, the fugitives crowded to Frederick Town, where they received food and shelter. The Maryland Assembly convened in the fall of 1763. It was Delegate Johnson's second session. Governor Sharpe pictured the outrages in vivid language, and the Lower House made further provision for the protection of the western settlers.

Even as late as July, 1764, the Indians committed a number of massacres along the Conococheague, and in the same month

an expedition of five hundred men was sent to reinforce Fort Pitt, which had been cut off from all communication with the interior. In this expedition against the Delawares, Mingoes and Shawnees, there were two companies of Maryland volunteers. And the colonel who led them wrote to Governor Sharpe the following November, urging that he request the Assembly to pay these gallant volunteers for their military services. "As such a public spirit ought to be encouraged in our Colonies," said the Colonel, "I beg leave to recommend them to your notice, that they may obtain pay, if possible, from your Assembly."

As a member of the Provincial Assembly, Delegate Thomas Johnson, Jr., was one of the most liberal of all the members in making appropriations. Mr. Johnson deeply appreciated the hardships of the pioneers who ventured out into the Alleghanies. When, for example, a motion was made in the House on the 16th of November, 1765, to make an appropriation to Capt. Evan Shelby as a testimony of the Assembly's appreciation of his "spirited conduct" in the war, Delegate Johnson eagerly voted in favor of the appropriation. The motion prevailed by the close vote of 22 to 19. A motion was then offered by the parsimonious faction that Capt. Shelby should be allowed only 200 pounds. Believing that the appropriation to Capt. Shelby ought not to be restricted to this amount, Mr. Johnson opposed the reduction and voted in the negative. The sum of 200 pounds, however, was all that the House allowed.

About this time commenced a friendship between Thomas Johnson and a Huguenot named Lancelot Jacques. Coming to America as a refugee, Jacques settled at Annapolis, where his industry and inherent business acumen brought him considerable success. Messrs. Johnson and Jacques became associated in business enterprises and together they secured from the proprietor vast tracts of land in Frederick County. They obtained out of the High Court of Chancery a writ of *ad quod damnum*, directed to the sheriff of Frederick County, commanding him, by the oath of twelve men, to inquire into the mineral

lands lying on Green Spring Run, about two miles below Fort Frederick, "as might be the most convenient for setting up a Forge Mill and other conveniences, as shall be necessary for carrying on an Iron Work." The sheriff returned an inquiry to the Court on December 23, 1766. Johnson and Jacques gave security that they would erect a forge mill on the land within the time limited by the act of the Assembly.

The lands acquired by them had been found to contain iron ore, and Johnson and Jacques took up their western tracts, not for speculation, as Dulany, Carroll and other wealthy men of tidewater had done, but to start smelting furnaces. On April 11, 1768, Governor Sharpe countersigned Lord Baltimore's patent for 15,000 acres at Indian Spring (now in Washington County) to the two Annapolitans, as tenants in common; and here Mr. Jacques came to reside, not far from Fort Frederick. They erected Green Spring Furnace and the pig iron which they manufactured here was pushed down the Potomac to George Town by a crew of trusty negro slaves.

Later Mr. Johnson, together with Leonard Calvert, obtained a patent from Lord Baltimore for 7,000 acres of mineral land in Frederick County, constituting the Catoctin Furnace property. Accordingly, about the time of the arrival of Sir Robert Eden to take up the work of proprietary governor, Thomas Johnson, as well as Washington, had become thoroughly impressed with the mineral wealth and the immense productivity of the soil in the valleys of the Monocacy and the Antietam. Both Washington and Johnson were impressed, too, by the utter desolation of the back country. "They saw that with the exception of rude trails—and even they were impassible a great part of the year—there was absolutely no means of communication with the country west of the Alleghanies. Naturally, therefore, with clear perception of the future possibilities of the western wilderness, George Washington, in Virginia, and Thomas Johnson, in Maryland, were the leading advocates of the project to make the Potomac River the means of communication between the East and West. The governor and the legislature of both colonies were exhorted to give backing to the project. But, se-

curing little encouragement from the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia, Thomas Johnson, on June 18th, 1770, during a long recess of the Provincial Assembly of Maryland, sent from Annapolis to Mount Vernon a communication proposing to Washington for his consideration the scheme for promoting the navigation of the Potomac by means of private subscriptions. Washington's reply, found among the papers of the Potomac Company, was loaned to Congressman Andrew Stewart for his report to the House of Representatives in 1826 on the subject of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal.

"The committee," said Congressman Stewart, from the Committee on Roads and Canals, "have obtained possession of a variety of letters, reports, maps, and papers, connected with this subject, in the hand writing of General Washington, extracts of which are annexed to this report. . . . Among the manuscripts referred to, the committee find a report in the hand writing of General Washington, dated in 1754, stating all the difficulties and obstructions to be overcome in rendering the Potomac navigable."¹⁵ The report in General Washington's handwriting is entitled: "Summary of the Reports of Mr. Johnson, Mr. Semple, and George Washington, respecting the navigation of Potomac River." Washington, according to this authority, observed in 1754, the condition of the river from the mouth of Patterson's Creek, to Shenandoah Falls, to Seneca Falls. Mr. Semple reported on the condition of the Potomac from Widow Brewster's—two miles above Great Falls—to Seneca Falls, to Payne's Falls, to the spout, to Harper's Ferry, to Shenandoah Falls, to Fort Cumberland. Mr. Johnson's report is as follows:

"From a little below Fort Frederick, to Caton's gut, little or no obstruction. House's fall, another rift, between that and Antietam, and what is called Sheppard's falls, a little below Shepherdstown, being the only obstructions, and which might easily be removed at very small expence. From Caton's gut to Payne's falls (about five miles)."

¹⁵ *House Reports*, 19th Congress, 1st Session No. 228.

Washington's letter replying to Thomas Johnson's communication of June 18, 1770, is not published either by Ford or Sparks. On account of its importance, it is printed herewith in full:

Virginia, 20th July, 1770.

Sir:

I was honored with your favor of the 18th of June, about the last of that month, and read it with all the attention I was capable of; from that time till now I have not been able to inquire into the sentiments of any of the gentlemen of this side in respect to the scheme of opening the inland navigation of Potowmack, by private subscription, in the manner you have proposed—and, therefore, any opinion which I may now offer on this head will be considered I hope as the result of my own private thinking, not of the public.

That no person concerned in this event wishes to see an undertaking of the sort go forward with more sincerity and ardour than I do, I can truly assure you; and I will, at all times, give any assistance in my power to promote the design; but I leave you to judge from the trial, which before this you have undoubtedly made, how few there are, (not immediately benefited by it,) that will contribute any thing worth while to the work; and how many small sums are requisite to raise a large one.

Upon your plan of raising money, it appears to me there will be found but two kinds of people who will subscribe much towards it. Those who are actuated by motives of public spirit; and those again, who from their proximity to the navigation, will reap the salutary effects of it, clearing the river. The number of the latter, you must be a competent judge of; those of the former, is more difficult to ascertain; for which reason I own to you, that I am not without my doubts of your scheme falling through, however sanguine your first hopes may be from the rapidity of subscribers, for it is to be supposed that your subscription papers will probably be opened among those whose interests *must* naturally incline them to wish well to the

undertaking, and consequently will aid it; but when you come to shift the scene a little, and apply to those who are unconnected with the river, and the advantage of its navigation, how slowly will you advance!

This, sir, is my sentiment, generally, upon your plan of obtaining subscriptions for extending the navigation of the Potowmack; whereas I conceive, that if the subscribers were vested by the two legislatures with a kind of property in the navigation under certain restrictions and limitations, and to be reimbursed their first advances with a high interest thereon, by a certain easy toll on all craft proportionate to their respective burthens, in the manner that I am told works of this sort are effected in the inland parts of England—or upon the plan of turnpike roads; you would add thereby a third set of men, to the two I have mentioned, and gain considerable strength by it. I mean the monied gentry; who, tempted by lucrative views, would advance largely on account of the high interest. This, I am inclined to think, is the only method by which this desirable work will ever be accomplished in the manner it ought to be; for, as to its becoming an object of public expense, I never expect to see it. Our interests (in Virginia, at least), are too much divided. Our views too confined, if our finances were better, to suffer that, which appears to redound to the advantage of a part of the community only to become a tax upon the whole—though in the instance before us, there is the strongest speculative proof in the world to me of the immense advantages which Virginia and Maryland might derive, (and at a very small comparative expence) by making the Potowmack the channel of commerce between Great Britain, and that immense Territory; a tract of country, which is unfolding to our view the advantages of which are too great, and too obvious, I should think, to become the subject of serious debate, but which, through ill-timed parsimony and supineness, may be wrested from us and conducted through other channels, such as the Susquehanna, (which I have seen recommended by some writer) the lakes, &c. How difficult it will be to divert it afterwards, time only can show. Thus far, sir, I have taken

the liberty of communicating my sentiments on the different modes of establishing a fund, but if from the efforts you have already made on the North side of the Potowmack, it should be found that my views are rather imaginary than real, (as I heartily wish they may prove), I have no doubts but the same spirit may be stirred up on the South side, if gentlemen of influence in the counties of Hampshire, Frederick, Loudoun and Fairfax, will heartily engage in it, and receive all occasional sums, received from those who may wish to see a work of this sort undertaken, although they expect no benefit themselves from it.

As to the manner in which you propose to execute the work, in order to avoid the inconvenience which you seem to apprehend from locks, I profess myself to be a very incompetent judge of it. It is a general received opinion I know, that, by reducing one fall, you too frequently create many; but how far this inconvenience is to be avoided by the method you speak of, those who have examined the rifts—the depth of water above, &c. must be infinitely the best qualified to determine. But I am inclined to think, that, if you were to exhibit your scheme to the public upon a *more extensive plan, than the one now printed, it would meet with a more general approbation; for so long as it is considered as a partial scheme, so long will it be partially attended to—whereas, if it was recommended to the public notice upon a MORE ENLARGED PLAN, AND AS A MEANS OF BECOMING THE CHANNEL OF CONVEYANCE OF THE EXTENSIVE AND VALUABLE TRADE OF A RISING EMPIRE*; and the operations to begin at the lower Landings, (above the Great Falls), and to extend upwards to as high as Fort Cumberland; or as far as the expenditure of the money would carry them; from whence the portage to the waters of Ohio must commence; I think many would be invited to contribute their mite, that otherwise will not. It may be said the expence of doing this will be considerably augmented. I readily grant it, but believe that the subscribers will increase in proportion; at any rate I think that there will be at least an equal sum raised by this means,

and that the end of your plan will be as effectually answered by it. G. W.

Despite this reply from Washington—a reply all but encouraging—Mr. Johnson continued with enthusiasm his efforts to clear the Potomac and with the aid of his friend, Lancelot Jacques, secured numerous private subscriptions.

Johnson's scheme of opening the Potomac to navigation is probably the undertaking referred to by J. Thomas Scharf in his "History of Maryland," in Volume 2, at page 258, although the date, 1762, as given by Mr. Scharf is, in the opinion of Mrs. Bacon-Foster, an error. The managers of this company, as given by Scharf, were:

For Maryland—Thomas Cresap, Jonathan Hager, Robert Peter, Evan Shelby, Dr. David Ross, Christopher Loundes, Benjamin Chambers, John Carey, Casper Schaaf, Rev. Thomas Bacon and Thomas Prather.

For Virginia—Col. George Mason, Jacob Hite, Abraham Hite, James Hamilton, John Hough and John Patterson.

Col. George Mercer and Col. Thomas Prather were elected treasurers.

On August 18, 1770, Rev. Dr. Jonathan Boucher, who was a personal friend of Thomas Johnson and other Assembly leaders and was for some time chaplain of the Lower House, wrote a letter to Washington in which he explained the excellent results Thomas Johnson and Lancelot Jacques were obtaining in the sale of subscriptions of stock at Annapolis. The clergyman also announced in his letter that the two stock salesmen were ready to set off on the morrow for Frederick Town to seek further subscriptions in that town.

"They are still going on," Rev. Dr. Boucher wrote Washington, "with their Subscriptions for clearing the Potomac, and, as I am told, with spirit. Four hundreds pounds are subscribed in this City; nor have they got all they expect. Messrs. Jacques and Johnson set off for Frederick tomorrow, and talk of fixing a day for a general meeting, before they return. Will it be convenient and agreeable to you to attend—

about a month hence, if you have notice in time—at the Spot, *i. e.*, at, or near Semple's?"

The trip to Frederick Town—a long and tiresome journey at that day from the capital of the colony—was made by Mr. Johnson and his French companion in accordance with the announced plans. That they arrived safely at their destination is evidenced by the land records of Frederick County, which show that Thomas Johnson, Jr., of Annapolis, made his appearance on August 22, 1770, before "two of His Lordship's Justices of the Peace for Frederick County."

In the same year Washington sent a letter to Governor Eden pointing out the great benefits that would accrue to Virginia and Maryland if the Potomac River were made a channel of commerce between the Atlantic Seaboard and the Western territory. But Thomas Johnson and George Washington and their business associates found out that they were undertaking a gigantic task. The people were apathetic, skeptical, even antagonistic. The Maryland Assembly refused to take any action in support of Johnson's plan and the Virginia House of Burgesses likewise failed to render any assistance. But Washington remained staunch in his conviction that the opening of a communication from tidewater to the great country west of the Alleghanies was vitally important to North America from a social, commercial and political standpoint, as well as from the standpoint of military defense. And Thomas Johnson, too, like the immortal Virginian, looked upon the scheme to make the Potomac River navigable as an altogether patriotic enterprise, second to none in the New World, and although the assemblies of Maryland and Virginia turned a deaf ear to their pleas, Mr. Johnson, like Col. Washington, cherished the idea of connecting East and West with undiminished fervor.

The following letter from Thomas Johnson to George Washington (in which was enclosed a note for Washington's "Lady," from Mr. Johnson's brother, John, then a twenty-six-year-old physician) is presented because it shows not only that the Washington and the Johnson families were by this time on very intimate terms, but also that George Washington and Thomas

Johnson were very closely associated at this period in the enterprise to open the Potomac to navigation and were keeping in constant touch with the proceedings of the assemblies of Maryland and Virginia:

Sir:

Annapolis, 26 March, 1772.

I inclose you a letter from my brother John to your Lady. He was at my house last week and intended then to have sent it but the post made so little stay that tho' my brother went to the Office several times he slipped him.—

There were some expenses on the Bill passed last Session in favor of Mr. Semple. It is usual here in imitation of what I think a bad proceeding in England to tax fees on private Bills—this was taxed

To the Speaker — 6. —. —

the Clerk of the Lower House — 3. —. —

common money, i. e., dollars at 7/6—and I believe in the Upper House as much. I should be obliged by your having the money remitted as I have paid part of it and promised to write to you on the subject.

I am sir, Your most humble servant,

Th^s Johnson, Jun^r.

(To be continued)

MRS. B. I. COHEN'S FANCY DRESS PARTY¹

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1837

¹ Letter from James M. Nicholson to his mother Rebecca Lloyd of "Wye House," wife of Judge J. H. Nicholson.

The invitation cards, several of which are among the papers of Miss Eleanor S. Cohen, grand-daughter of the host and hostess, bear on the face the words of the above caption, and on the reverse "The honor of company is solicited at 8 P. M. Jan. 23d. 1837"

Benjamin I. Cohen, b. 17th Sept. 1797, d. 20th Sept. 1845, was a member of the banking firm of Cohen & Sons; he was one of the founders of the Baltimore Stock Board and its President at the time of his death; he was a botanist and horticulturist, and was a talented amateur violinist. Mrs. Cohen was Kitty Etting, b. 25th Nov. 1788; d. 26th April, 1837.

Baltimore, Feb. 3rd 1837.

My dear Mother.

When I wrote you a few days since, that I would give you some account of Mr & Mrs Cohens Fancy Ball, I thought I was making a promise which could be fulfilled without any difficulty; I supposed I could easily find out all the Characters personated, and would be able to remember, not only how they were supported, but to a certain extent in what garniture they were exhibited. Today however I find my memory considerably at a loss, and am afraid I shall be able to give you but a meagre description. As the Invitations desired, the Guests assembled as near 8 o'clock, as could have been expected. The three Rooms on the first floor were thrown open for the Reception of the Company, the Lady of the house receiving in the large Room on the right hand Side of the Hall as you enter. I need however say nothing to you of the appearance of the Rooms, as I do not know that the furniture was much altered from what you have seen it there. You remember that everything about the house is rich and expensive, and if anything has been added for this occasion, it was all in keeping with the rest. The carpets were up in the two Rooms on the left-hand Side of the Hall for dancing and down every where else. In the Rooms on the right was a beautiful Divan covered with rich silk damask and the Recesses were filled with flowers most tastefully arranged, and Seats of various kinds were arranged around the walls. Refreshments were constantly passing about, borne by servants dressed in liveries suited to the occasion, served up in rich china and cut glass on Silver Waiters. The Rooms were all most brilliantly lighted by Lamps which blazed from amidst bunches of flowers.² The Supper Rooms were on the Second Floor, over the large Drawing Room. The principal Table extended the length of the Room decorated with beautiful China, cut glass and Silver all filled with every delicacy to be thought of. In

² Both Mr. and Mrs. Cohen were enthusiastic horticulturists and large greenhouses in the rear of the residence supplied the flowers.

the large Recess stood a Second Table decorated in the same style and same Delicacies, as on the first Table. A *Third Table* was in another part of the Room on which solid Refreshments were served consisting of every thing to please the most fastidious taste & served in the best style and in the greatest abundance as I am sure you well know. But to return to the guests. There was at first but little space for Dancing, and until the Evening had somewhat advanced, even but little inclination. For the first hour or two, every body seemed busily occupied—either in ascertaining “Who was Who”—or in admiring and examining the beautiful Dresses of the Ladies; for many of the gentlemen were in mask. The Rooms were crowded almost beyond example in our City, tho the Washingtonians would hardly call it a tight squeeze. but for Fancy Dresses—anything of a “squeeze”—you know must be annoying—as it prevents many rich, handsome Costumes being shown off to advantage. To tell you who was there, is no very hard task, for I might in general terms say—every body was there who is at all in the habit of attending parties.

First among your friends whom I met was *Mrs Caton*—she looked as I have always seen her look before. I think I run no risk in saying she was in no Fancy Costume, but wore a handsome Black Velvet Dress—and Ostrich feathers in her head Dress. She was leaning on the Arm of *Mr McTavish*, who was arrayed in his rich Consular Uniform (as I understood) that was much admired. I only recollect, that there was a great deal of Gold Lace on the front of his Coat.

Mrs J. G. Davis was there, I think, as Mary Queen of Scots—wore a handsome Dress of Black Velvet, trimmed with Pearls—over White Satin Under Skirt—and a tiara of rich Jewels on her head.

Mrs John S. Skinner was there as a Polish Lady—and you may take it for granted, both of these Ladies had on rich and becoming Costumes the latter wore a Purple Velvet Dress over White Satin Polish Cap and Feathers. Amethyst jewels—very handsome Costume.

Rebecca Key Howard was there. What was she, you will ask?—She was no Queen or Goddess—she represented no Character in Shakespeare—neither was she attired in any Costume as a Princess—she was herself only and as herself dressed in some White material familiar enough to you ladies, but unknown to me. She paraded through those Rooms—crowded with all the beauty of this City of beauties—the acknowledged Queen of the Night—not that she received more attention, but she elicited most admiration.

*The two Williamses*³ were there looking like Angels—both of them—*Mary* however more so. They were dressed I believe in personation of some picture they had chosen as a Model—but I do not know who the picture represented—I only know they were beautifully dressed and wore beautiful jewels and if the Originals equaled the representations—I should like to have the picture hanging in our Parlors.

Sophie Cooke also looked remarkably well, as the heroine in the “Bride of Abydos”—she wore a beautiful Turkish Dress—but I can give you no particulars. *Sophie Cooke*, *Mary Williams* and *Margaret Patterson* wore, I think, the prettiest Dresses in the Rooms—and I doubt if my judgment was much from that of others present. *Margaret Patterson* was, I think she said, a Circassian Princess—and her Dress was in perfect keeping—of rich materials and beautiful jewels—& wore a Crown Covered with jewels—and she looked better than I ever Saw her. Her Cousin *Charlotte Patterson* was there, the daughter of Mrs Joe Patterson and probably you know her—she wore a beautiful dress—as an Italian Peasant, I believe.

Maria Stevenson was there as the “Bandit’s Bride”—a beautiful dress—and she looked so well.

Margaret Smith, the grand daughter of the old General, was looking remarkably well, and your humble Servant bored her for the greater part of the Evening with his Society. She is looking remarkably pretty this Winter—and last night was not surpassed by many,; she told me what she represented, and she wore a

³ Mary and Elizabeth.

beautiful Turkish Costume of pink and white and a pink Turban with feathers—as a “Polish Lady” I think. I am not able to describe all these beautiful Costumes—or the Characters they intend to represent—I write only to while away some of your sick hours, tho I think by this time you have almost wholly recovered—tho I am able to give you the general appearance and general effect—it is as much as I am able to do—but I must continue to tell you of others there. *Miss Skipwith* from Virginia—was also much admired—in a beautiful Costume as a “Berneois Peasant” I believe, also there was *Miss Anne Gordon* of Virginia—who appeared as “Sweet Anne Page”—in a pink and white Costume and Pearl Ornaments. This last Lady is Said to be very wealthy—but independent of her wealth—her appearance is very attractive, and her lovely manners make her most agreeable; but I am not personally acquainted with her.

Elizabeth Hall was also there—also as “Sweet Anne Page”—her appearance is always striking and the beautiful Velvet dress—I believe it was—which she wore last night—was very becoming and became her very much.

Miss E. Travis was there as “Night”—she wore a rich Black dress Covered with Silver Stars. She is certainly a lovely woman—with perhaps the finest eyes (next to Julia Calverts) I ever saw. Her figure is not so good, the last party at which I saw her she was probably the Belle of the Evening.

Serena Barroll was there as “Rowena”—she wore a beautiful Costume—Cherry Colored—and a Gold tiara covered with jewels. I think she has the finest figure perhaps in the City—and I heard many speak her praises.

The Claphams were there and looked remarkably well in beautiful Costumes—one I think probably from Lalla Rook.

Miss Emma Meredith was there as “Queen of the Fairies” beautifully dressed in perfect keeping with the Character. Many others were there—but I think I have gone through with most of the ladies that you know—or have heard of—and I must now mention at least a few of the gentlemen.

"Paul Pry" was there — represented by *Mr R. Brent* a stranger (from Washington I think)—who played his part well.

Old Hagar too was there. She made her appearance and really the resemblance was very striking and was personated by *Mr Wethered* I am told.

Young Dr Butler appeared as "Mrs. Trollope" and excited a great deal of merriment.

Several strangers are here for the Winter, and they and the Beaux of the City were all very handsomely appparelled. *Mr Campbell*, who accompanied Murray Lloyd to the Eastern Shore on the occasion of his Wedding, was there, and represented the "Corsair"—his dress was a costly one I understood but not a becoming one, he is a handsome man and probably the ladies thought him very handsome last night.

Mr Middleton from South Carolina was there as an Indian Chief, and looking remarkably well; which was the general opinion which I concurred in.

Theoderic Skinner wore a handsome Dress as a "Polish Lancer" and I heard many say he looked remarkably handsome in it—his Brother Frederick Skinner likewise wore a handsome Costume as a Greek I was told. A very rich Costume.

Joe (Nicholson) and *E. A. Brown* went as Sailors.

William Meredith represented an "Indian Chief."

Dr J. H. Thomas—said to be Engaged to Miss Anne Gordon of Virginia—appeared as a "Kentucky Hunter" and not only played his part well but also looked well in that Costume.

Mr McHenry and *Mr Greenway* both represented French Counts, gentlemen of the "Olden times"—in handsodme Costumes; they and many others wore masks.

We also had a "*Sugar Loaf*" who was *Mr Cooke*—and a "*Terrapin*" who was *Mr W^m H. Hoffman*—they created much amusement. I have not mentioned my own Character. I at first represented a Sailor and was in Mask—then changed my Dress and wore a Turkish Costume to represent "Old Nick"—as I heard myself called. I enjoyed this beautiful Ball as every one did and regret you were not well enough to be present. I

have named but few of the many present—there were many distinguished Strangers there and Officers of both the Navy and Army. The presence of the Charming Host and Hostess was felt and acknowledged every where—there was no effort visible, every thing went on as if by Magic—and it was not until the small hours in the Morning the guests Shook hands and said Good Night—to Mr and Mrs Cohen—after this most delightful Evening.

Hoping my letter may find you improving, and almost well again—I am my dear Mother

Ever your affect^d Son

J. M. Nicholson.

Since Writing My Letter—a Printed List—Giving Many Names of some I have not mentioned who were present at Mr & Mrs B. I. Cohen's Fancy Ball—Feb 2nd 1837—and I Copy those I have not described and send you.

PRINTED LIST

Mrs E. P. Cohen wore a beautiful French Embroidered Dress and Pearl Ornaments.

Miss Graff was Dressed as a Swiss Peasant.

Mrs Robert Gilmor wore a handsome Ball Dress with rich and elegant Jewels.

Mrs Robert Gilmor jr. went as "Medora"—wearing a White Muslin Dress. No Ornaments, only her long, beautiful hair flowing down to her feet, over her neck, shoulders and back.

Miss Norman. A Spanish Page-Dress of Blue and White Satin—hat & Shoes to Suit.

Miss E. O'Donnell—Diana—Dress of White and Silver, with Silver bow and arrows.

Miss Sterett—Swiss Peasant.

Miss Gill—Swiss Peasant.

Miss Donnell—Dutch Girl—very pretty Costume.

Miss Elizabeth Frick. Noviciate.

- Mrs T. Oldfield. A Houri (a nymph of paradise)—beautiful Dress of Yellow and Gold.
- Miss E. Wethered. Sultana—very rich Dress of Blue and Silver, Brocade—very handsome Costume.
- Miss C. D. . . . e—Spanish Lady of Rank.
- Miss Hodges—Noviciate—Dressed in White.
- Miss Carroll. Very beautiful, Parisian Costume.
- Mrs Pennington — “ Queen Caroline ” — Black Velvet Dress. Stomacher of magnificent Jewels—Tiara of Jewels—and White and Scarlet plumes.
- Mrs F. Brune—Young Lady of the 15th Century—very rich Brocade Dress—with pointed Stomacher—very high heels on her Shoes—with Buckles—hair powdered and Cushioned — Long Curls behind, antique fan, and beautiful Jewels.
- Miss Agnes Gordon. Rebecca — (from Ivanhoe) — rich and handsome Costume and a profusion of Jewels.
- Miss C. Nisbet. Greek Costume—very handsome Costume.
- Miss A. Nisbet—As “ Folly ”—A Gold Crescent with small gold Bells as a head-dress, and all her Costume was appropriate and Ornamented beautifully.
- Miss L. Howard. A Circassian Dancing Girl.
- Miss Margaret Hughes—As French Peasant Girl.
- Miss E. Gilmor; Polish Lady. Costume Cherry Colored — trimmed with swans-down — over an under-dress of Gold & White—hat to suit.
- Miss Mary Smith—As “ Rebecca ”—wore a beautiful Dress.
- Mrs Greenway—Italian Peasant Girl.
- Miss C. Smith—Spanish Lady.
- Mrs B. Mayer—Queen Elizabeth—with a ruff and long train of Satin—perfect Costume.
- Miss Armstead. A Greek Girl.
- Mrs C. Tiernan. Turkish Lady. beautiful Dress of Silver and White—and fine Jewels.
- Mrs Somerville—A Highland Lady—Scotch Dress.
- Mrs Latrobe—A Highland Lady.
- Miss Martha Gray—A Gipsy. Mantle and hat all in character.

- Miss Dunbar—Highland Lady.
 Miss Rebecca Rogers—Highland Lady.
 Miss S. Hoffman—Turkish Costume, very handsome Dress.
 Miss Barney—Polish Dress—very handsome.
 Miss Winter—Normandy Peasant Girl.
 Miss Magruder—Helen McGregor—full Highland Costume.
 Miss Howard—"Flora McIvor." very beautiful Costume.
 Miss S. . . . w. A Gipsy—handsome Dress.
 Miss Clapham—A Scotch Lassie—attracted general admiration
 by the elegance and correctness of her attire.
 Mrs F. H. Davidge. A Highland Costume.
 Miss Shubrick—Renée de Rieux, Countess de Chateau neuf.
 Mrs. S. W. D. . . . n. A Brazilian Lady.

The Gentlemen—many of whom were in Mask as well as
 Costume.

- M. P. D. . . . n. A Pedlar.
 Mr W. Donnell. Italian Nobleman.
 Mr. W. Tiffany. Black Friar.
 Mr. H. Tiffany—Count Almavivi.
 Mr P. Kennedy. Neapolitan Fisherman.
 Mr W. Meredith—An Indian Chief—in full Costume tomahawk in hand.
 Mr J. B. Williams—A Swiss Mountaineer.
 Mr G. Cooke—the "Sugar Loaf."
 Mr W. Greenway—French Count of the Last Century.
 Mr R. Brent—"Paul Pry."
 Mr L. Smith. *Country Boy* from Anaranold County & his
 Sweetheart "*Miss*" *Phoebe Cornstalk*"—his Sweetheart
 played these parts well and most amusing.
 Dr. Tom Buckler—A *Country Girl*.
 Mr Swan—A Sailor.
 Mr Barroll—A Sailor.
 Mr W. Frick—Captain of the Water Witch.
 Mr. J. M. Nicholson—A Sailor—then changed Costume and
 appeared as "*Mephistopheles*"—wore handsome Turkish
 Costume.

- Mr B. H. Latrobe. Costume of Last Century—handsome Dress.
 Mr S. O. Hoffman—Court Dress of France—handsome Costume.
 Mr. E. H. . . . n—An Irish Boy from Tipperary.
 Mr W. H. Hoffman—The “Terrapin.”
 Mr. J. Carroll—Costume of last Century.
 Mr McHenry—An ancient Costume of France.
 Mr Graff—Tyrolean Peasant.
 Mr Ludlow—A Highland Chief.
 S. Teackle Wallis—Mendicant Friar.
 Mr C. R. Barney. Don Juan.
 Mr Robert Gilmor jr—A Turkish Costume.
 Frederick Skinner—A Greek Pirate—handsome Costume.
 Theoderick Skinner. Polish Lancer—very handsome Dress.
 M. Patterson—A Shepherd Boy.
 Mr F. H. Davidge. A Highland Chieftain.
 Mr B. Mayer—Earl of Rochester—handsome Dress.
 Mr Davis—wore a handsome Uniform.
 Mr G. W. Dobbin—Brazilian Guachi.
 Mr Savage—A Page.
 Mr Bordly—Courtier of the time of Charles II.
 Mr L. Washington—A Sailor.

Many of the Gentlemen wore Masks.

This list—including all those mentioned in Mr. J. M. Nicholson’s Letter—do not include all the guests at this famous ball.⁴

⁴From another contemporaneous letter, published in pamphlet form shortly after the “party,” the above list has been corrected, and from it the following names are added:

- Madame Patterson-Bonaparte,—Queen Caroline.
 Miss Virginia Williams,—Quakeress.
 Miss A. Law,—French Gardeneress.
 Miss Matilda Cohen, from Wales,—Welsh peasant.
 Miss Mary Hall,—Flora MacDonald.
 Miss Mary Cooke,—Tyrolean peasant.
 Mrs. Flora Byrne,—Young matron of 15th century.
 Mrs. Dr. Hall,—Lady of last century.
 Mrs. Donaldson,—Highland Lady.

The Residence of Mr. and Mrs. B. I. Cohen some years later became the residence of Dr. Alexander Robinson, who married Miss Wirt, and his daughters Laura, now Mrs. Robert Atkinson; Angelica, now Mrs. Robert Gamble; Agnes, who married Carval Hall (both deceased), and his sons, William Wirt Robinson, Alexander Robinson, and George Robinson (all now deceased). But all this family of Dr. Robinson, from just before 1860—and after 1865—made this handsome house of Mr. and Mrs. B. I. Cohen, on North Charles and Saratoga streets, well known to the Maryland “Belles and Beaux” of those later dates, the children of many of those “Belles and Beaux” present at this celebrated fancy ball, Feb. 2d, 1837, and the beautiful entertainments given by Dr. Robinson and his daughters and sons, though not “fancy balls,” were no less delightful entertainments, as many of the present day can testify, myself among them, from just before 1860 and after 1865.

REBECCA LLOYD POST SHIPPEN.

(Mrs. EDWARD SHIPPEN.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE CARROLL PAPERS

(Continued from Vol. XIV, p. 293.)

Octo^r 19th 1772 [206]

Dr Charley

I have y^{rs} by Johny. I wrote to Mr Dan: Carroll the 12th inst to get 3 or 4 Palatines, I have not since Heard from Him, He was to be marryed last thursday, th^t as I suppose (as it is natural) at present engaged all His Attention. If among th^e Goods Bishoprick has brought there be any for me advise me, I do not Recollect th^t I wrote for any. By y^r Acc^t I hope you may Secure the money due from th^s Philpot by His protesting y^r Bills: I suppose the Bill to Ringgold was a large one, you do not mention the sum. Riggs this day set out for the Ohio to take up 12 or 1500^a of Land, 3 others went with

Him. He proposed to be back in a fortnight. I do not think He Can return under 3 weeks. I could not well refuse Him leave & I am in hopes by Frosts Riding twice a week round the Plantation under Rigg's Care th^t I shall not suffer by Rigg's absence. The wood in the Branch in the Middle of the Folly Plantation is downe & most of the Underwood grubbed, the Plantation shews to advantage by th^t Clearing. For 3 weeks past there has been thick, Close foggy & warm weather it is not only unusuall at this Season but unwholesome & very prejudicial to the tob^o House. We are obliged to keep fiers in all Houses at no small risque (the tob^o being mostly Cured) to prevent House burning & Mold, if this is not Generally done Much tob^o will be spoiled in the Province.

I lost a pair of thread Stockings when last with you, pray enquier for them. Nanny is not the only thief in y^r House, I think to Give Molly & Henry a Severe whipping when I go downe if my stockings are not found. I have a Cold in my Head it is not bad but makes me Heavy. 6 a Clock P: M: The wagon Came up about 3 a Clock with y^{rs} of the 17th. I think you will find the Courses of Trevor in some of the Mortgages of th^t Land if not get th^m from the office ag^t next Saturday let me know the Expence th^t I may Charge it to Frost. My Acc^t ag^t Masters may be proved Hereafter. M^r Johnson was to Pay in Proportion for the land added to the Ground leased to Jennings, to have a lease of the whole for the Remainder of the term Granted to Jenings, He never returned me a Plat by w^h the Rent was to be Ascertained, I suppose M^r Johnson got D: D^s Consent to the above terms, He must Remember I more than once pressed Him to do so: He knows D: D & th^t He is Dilatary to say no more M^r Johnson is Chargeable with Tho^s or M^r Jenings's Ballance & with the Additionall Rent from the time He took the Land added, w^h must be referd to Him if you do not find a M^m of it in some of the Blotters Pray shew what I write on this Head to M^r Johnson. Give my Service to M^r Deards & thank Him for His letter & tell Him I am glad to Hear He is Recovered & th^t the things He Sent by the Wagon Came safe. I am very glad

to Hear you are all well, may you very long Continue so. My love & Blessing to you all. I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Oct. 23rd 1772 [207]

Dr Charley

You will receive this by Giles who has leave to see His Mother, He is to return on Tuesday. By Him pray send the Certificate I wrote for & the date of Edw^d Dorseys the son of Johns Bond & the sum due on it. He wants to pay the int^t due on it. We have at last fine weather there was yesterday Morning a small white frost it did not the least Hurt even to Kidney Beans. My Cold is better & I hope goeing of. I have not Heared from Dan: Carroll & Consequent conclude He Could not get me any Palatines. We have a good Mast round us, the Hoggs will benefit by it & therefore will not be put up as soon as Riggs at 1st proposed, I think not before the Middle of Nov^r My love & Blessing to you all. I am Dr Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Has the Execution been served on Worthington. Mr Gill pretends a promise of Mr Carroll's Lots at E: R by inclosing th^m He excludes me from access to my lot, if Mr Carroll would not grant such Lease without reserving an access to my lot He would very much oblige me. Pray make my Compliments to Him & let Him know this. He will give you an Answer.

Oct. 28th 1772 [208]

Dr Charley

I have y^{rs} Dated Octo^r 21st and 25th inclusive I have a p^r of Cart wheels 5 Inches tread ready made & shod for the Island. I read y^r directions to Riggs about shoeing the wheels w^h He says shall be observed & th^t the wheels made for the Island are

made & shod to y^r direction. You say you also want a p^r of Wheels for the Plantation of the usual tread, th^t is vague, if only for the use of the Quarter they must be narrow Wheels, if for the Quarter & Towne, mention the treads: Be always Particular in y^r directions & you will save me & y^r self some writing. I am only Accountable to my Brothers Representatives for Trevor, the Addition to it I think I bought of one Carpenter or French. I am obliged to you for Being so Particular about the Appointment of Auditors & y^r Remarks on the Decree between Digges & us, they are very Pertinent & of Course we must Apply to the Chancelor to have the Severall Points you mention & any others w^h may Occur to you or y^r Counsel fully Explained, before th^t. I think the Auditors Cannot begin to Consider the Acc^{ts} I think Conden & Henart right in insisting on a Joint letter from me & Diggs to Pay th^m so are you to insist to know what they requier p^r Diem for th^mselves, Clerk, Copying Journey Expences &c &c. before we sign such a letter; Consult Johnson & Cooke on the Propriety of the letter & the above Charges. It realy gives me great Pleasure & satisfaction to find you are so thorough a Master of the Cause & Acc^{ts}. Act with the Gov^r & Visit Him as usual, His fickle Behaviour & mean Condesention to the Dulanys Justly lessens Him in y^{rs} & the Esteem of every one Acquainted with their Pride & Insolence & with His former Behaviour to th^m & what He has Heretofore sayed of them, But prudence directs you not to shew th^t the Gov^{rs} folly & want of Spirit is mortifying to you; you may Resolve to live in a desart if you will not generally Associate with foolish Fickle mean spirited men: You ought not to alter y^r Behaviour to the Gov^r unless Compelled to it by some Evident slight or ill treatment, w^h you have no Reason to Expect. I directed Riggs to look out for Horses as He travelled, He says He did so, th^t He was asked £35 V^a Currency for a Horse not worth more than £17. Many Horses I understand are Carryed to Baltimore Towne for Sale, I will write to D: Carroll to get 4 or 5, one of th^m or a mare for you. I shall advise Him to take none above 7, nor any upon His owne Judgement I expect Edw: Dorsey

this day to Pay His int^t. I shall Remember the white Clover & English grass seed for you. Turnbull has little or no Carrot seed, for me only some yearly part of Bed for Kitchen use, I once tryed field Carrots under Heesons management without success, insted of Carrots Cultivate Potatoes they are a Certain Crop, excellent food for all sorts of Stock, Especially Milch Cowes fed on them give a rich Milk w^h makes an Excellent butter. I do not Hear th^t Giles is Come Home, He Certainly got Drunk, lost or sold the Shoes, He shall be whipped. Riggs says He intended to send 30 p^r of shoes by the wagon but Could only get 24 p^r into the Bagg w^h was Carefully tyed up as Edw^d Clarke says. How many Pair did you Receive by the wagon? Riggs set out with 3 others in Company, they went within two miles of Coll Cressaps, He says they met with upwards of 100 People Returning from the Monongealla & those Parts who Represented the Lands tho Rich Excessively broken & th^t the Inhabitants there were starving Having gathered & almost Consumed this summers Crop of Corn, He says further th^t they told Him th^t two forts nigh Pittsburgh were Blown up th^t Fort Pit was undermined & to be Blown up as last Saturday th^t the Kings stores there were to be sold by Vendue & the Garrison to march in. French told me He Heared the same thing, if it be true the Expence attending a Garrison there, is in England thought needless or too great, or they Intend to Erect other forts in the new Government. As you trimmed Scot, Ireland & I trimmed French last Sunday & Monday. He lost £3:17:6 of w^h I only got 17/6. You say much of y^r Happiness depends on my life, I believe you for you Have allways been a dutifull & Affectionate son, But Dr Charley by the Course of nature I Cannot be long with you, think often th^t I must soon leave you, th^t I am persuaded will as much as any thing by preparing you for the Event enable you to bear it: I Recommend what I practice, I often very often think of my last day & I at present think I shall see it without terror & with Resignation. Mr Jos. Sprigg was last Monday with me to Purchase 79½^a Part of Enfield Chace unsold to Tasker who did not Care to take it as He indexed it not Clear

of an Elder survey. Sprigg Agrees to Give me two Guineas an Acre for my Right & I promised to let Him have it at th^t Price, If not: Young to whom I promised the Refusall did not take it. Sprigg has acted Generously, M^r Young to say the least has been very dilatory & therefore must not know Spriggs Offer. The inclosed letter to Young will exculpate my sale to Sprigg, or will induce Young to apply to me immediately. Pray send it as soon as Possible by a secure hand, note in y^r Blotter by whome & the day you sent it, & advise me also. Pray let me know How many hgds were sold to Ste: West last year under the following marks & the weight of them as I am to Pay M^r Becraft His share CC_B, CC_D, CC_H—Seal & Deliver myne to the Major—Octo^r 29th Yesterday Evening I received y^{rs} of the 17th by Giles. I have a Regular Cash Acct in an old Book Here from Febru 27th 1731 to long after my Brothers Death. I will get McKensie to renew His Bond. Y^r two last letters shall be kept Carefully. Pray desier y^r Gardener to take up all the young Apple trees in the nursery at the Quater w^h you do not think fit to reserve & to put them into the Ground in Bundles Covering the Roots well so th^t they may be ready for my Wagon w^h I think to send downe either the 6th or 14th of next month, she may Carry the ready made Wheels. When will you want flour & a Beef? we are now takeing up our Potatoes Ploughing Grubing & all the works of the Season. For 3 weeks past the Weather has been very unfavourable for the tob^o Cured by fier very much & I suppose has House burnt all tob^o not fierd, if it has been as Close Warme & Foggy every where as with us, you may Have some Business at our County Court, if so I shall not expect you before the Middle or latter end of the week after next. The Palatines by agreement have severall days to looke out for Masters & to make the Best terms they Can, they seldom agree untill those days are Expierd, th^t may be the Reason th^t I do not Hear from M^r Carroll about th^m. As to the Vessell you mention with Irish Familys unless there be Single men among th^m M^r Carroll wont look at th^m Oct. 30th. There is one Regan a Horse stealer in A: A: Prison who I Hear Confesses He stole my Horse from the Folly &

sold Him to one Hardy on Potomack, there is a family of the Hardys about Piscataway inclosed is a description of the Horse Pray send it to Mr Rozier (first takeing a Copy of it) & desier Him to do you the favour to get the Horse. By applying to Regan by Y^rself or Mr Deards you may get Hardys Christian name & a Certain Acc^t of the place of His abode. I Hear also th^t Regan was in partnership wth a gang of 13 or 14 Horse stealers & th^t He has impeached th^m all on assurance from the Magistrate of a Pardon, I hope the Gov^r will use all Endeavours to have th^m apprehended by applying to the neighbouring Gov^{rs}. One Cheney M^{rs} Frosts Brother is a Principall rogue among th^m & drew in Regan who I hear is not above 20: I pity M^{rs} Frost. We Began to take up our Potatoes on Monday, the Wet Weather obliged us to desist. We had a flurry of Wind & Rain this morning, & it looks as if we should Have fair Weather. I am very well, last Sunday I had not the least appetite nor did I eat, nor Could I bear the Sight of Victuals, this Happened without any sickness or feevour th^t I Could perceive, my appetite gradually returned & I now eat as usuall. My love & Blessing to you all. Do give little Molly a kiss & tel Her Grand Papa sent it to Her. I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I shall be glad to Hear
th^t Coll Sharpes Mill Answers

A darkish Grey Horse about 13 hands high His mane and Tail almost white, Branded on the near shoulder C C The Brand scarce perceivable, Trotts, & is subject to a lameness in his near foot, if rode hard.

Stole the 9th of April 1772.

Nov^r 2^d 1772 [209]

D^r Charley

M^{rs} Daniel wil deliver you this I am uneasy about the Child but I think more so about Molly. But I hope for the Best. I

shall send the Stallions to meet you on Saturday at Stoners you may Come thither wth M^{rs} Darnall in y^r Curricule. If you do not Come on Saturday send Alie Back to let me know How the Child is & when I shall send the Horses. I have been some what indisposed by a flux w^h Has Lessened my Appetite, it was troublesome on Friday & Saturday, yesterday I took a Dose of Rhubarb w^h I think has been of Great Service I am now easy & I think my Complaint at an end I am much Surprised to find myself so little weakened Considering the discharge I have had. I this Day walked about two Miles without fatigue. My love & Blessing to you all, God Grant my little Louisa & all of you Health & a long Continuance of it. I am D^r Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Nov 19th 1772 [210]

D^r Charley

I see by y^{rs} to Molly you'r uneasy about my Health, if I was more Grave & thoughtful when you was Here than usuall I Can attribute it to nothing but to Mollys uneasiness & the loss of Louisa, for I find myself well, it is true I do not eat as much as formerly & what I doe eat I do eat with so good an appetite, But I do not find my strength to fail me, I take as much Exercise as for some years past & without being fatigued I walked this Day about 5 miles. Robert Davis dined with me & went with me to the Post placed in the roome of a White Oake & Hickory Boundaries of Kendalls Delight & the Beginning of Chance. He told me He was lately at the White Oake a Boundary of Dryers & Dodderige th^t it is well knowne & by what He tells me it is as much Hammonds as it is our Interest to preserve it: Howard Writes you th^t M^r Dorsey & He saw it this week. Let me know when our County Court meets to settle the Levy, I may then Have a Commission to settle th^t Boundary. I think to send downe the Wagon the 28th for the Rest of the trees, send y^r Gardener to the Quarter to trim of the Lops leaving two 3 or 4 Branches at the top of each tree as the trees will direct about a foot long to forme the Head of the tree, this being done

I think the Wagon may bring them all. Send the Gardener to Coll. Sharpe & desier Him to Spare me 100 or 150 Plumb Suckers for Stocks to Graft on. I forgot to tell you th^t R^t Davis goes next week to lay out what is Clear of Carrolls Forrest for Wheeler. If Riggs & Frost Have been Exact in their Measure I Have made 5750 Bushells of Potatoes at all the Plantations the Hoggs & Every thing Eates th^m. The Hoggs Rooted up & eat all in Valentines Orchard. Frost & Clarke have not got in all their Corn, Riggs says He thinks Frost will make at least 1000 Barrills at the Plantations under His Care, if so I shall make 2000 Barrills, Riggs Has measured 820 Barrills, I suppose Clarke will make 140, if so the Plantations under Riggs will amount to 960 Barrills. I shall not write to you to Morrow unless something new Occurs. God Bless you & Grant you Health. We are all well & Molly pretty Chearfull But the thoughts of the Meazells small Pox & being from you perplexes Her. I am D^r Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S.

My Compliments to M^r
Deards I will answer His by
the Wagon to morrow.

Nov^r 23^d 1772 [211]

D^r Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 20th which I shewed to Molly, She I suppose has told you when she will Come to you. Little Nan has been whipt about M^{rs} Moretons Shifts, She Confessed she stole them & said she gave th^m to Moll, search Molls Box &c privately, But it is probable she Has sold th^m I am determined to see Moll & Henry well Whipped when I go downe. Look among the Plats & Certificates for a Plat of Chance Dryers Inheritance Dodd-rige's Forest &c & if you find it, send it to me, Davis says He made One, but I do not Remember it. I will prepare a Petition to perpetuate the Bounds of Chance Dodderige & Dryer. The Gov^r will be in Towne this day or to Morrow, for I am told a

grand Councill is to be held to Morrow w^h I suppose you forgot.
We are all well. I am Dr Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

I suppose you will want very few if any Wood Cutters, you may employ the Jobbers who are with you, if you want more, let me know the number & when to send th^m

March 12th 1773 [212]

Dr Charley

We got Home in 6 Hours & $\frac{3}{4}$ all Stopages included. Y^r Horses behaved very well, the Roades between Annapolis & Mc-Daniell's were very Heavy as we advanced they grew better. M^{rs} Darnall Complained much of the Cold. I found no ill convenience from it nor did I feel it, perhaps it would not have affected Her so much had wee been goeing to, insted of Return-
ing from Annapolis: I think she did not like to leave M^{rs} Scots Rout. This as entre nous. I have not been out this day but in my Garden, as far as I can see & am informed every thing Here is in as good Condition as I could Expect, I shall ride out to morrow. I send downe a Boy as M^{rs} Darnall tells me she Can send you some Butter: Let the Boy return early on Sunday, by Him informe me How Countenances appeared at the Rout, what is sayed of the 1st Citizen & how it is Relished, I shall be much disappointed if it does not meet with a Generall Cordiall reception. Has the Gov^r received His Commission? if so what is sayed about it & what steps are to be taken in Consequence of it? Kiss our Dr little Molly for me again & again, desier Her Mother to doe the same & both of you tell Her, Her Grand-papa sends Her those Kisses. My love & Blessing to you all & may God grant you all perfect Health & a very long Continuance of it. I am Dr Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

March 17th 1773 [213]

Dr Charley

Y^{rs} of the 13th instant I received about ½ an Hour before Ja^s Howard Came to me & deliverd me this Gazette of the 11th inst^t. He acquainted me wth the impatience of the People to get it, th^t the Office was a long time Crowded, th^t all the strangers in Towne retierd to their Lodgeings many to private places (to avoid interruption) to read it, that the Publick Houses were th^t night as quiet as private Ones, that next morning every mouth was open in praise of the 1st Citizen. Mr Green I am told has got many subscribers in this neighbourhood by it. A Gentleman told me you appeared at the County Court on Friday, th^t the whisper immediately Ran there is the 1st Citizen & th^t every eye was fixed on you with evident marks of Pleasure & Approbation, that many sayed they did not know which to admire most y^r strength of Reasoning or y^r Calm & Gentleman like stile Considering Antillons scurrilous & abusive provocation; That it was a doubt & matter of Debate whether y^r Text or Conclusion was most severe, but that all agreed nothing Could be more applicable than both. On Sunday about 4 a Clock P: M: I had the Pleasure of Mr Johnsons Chace's & Tilghmans Company. The evenings Conversation you may naturally Suppose turned Chiefly on the 1st Citizens Paper, their opinion of it you Cannot be in doubt about; They assured me it met with a Generall & Warme aprobation. You tell me some have thought it *too long winded*. I do not doubt it, the text would have been too long winded for such Criticks, I have not Heared that any others have Complained of its length I Cannot shew my Approbation of y^r Piece better than by wishing that you may with good Health live to see a Son think as you do & express His thoughts with y^r force Elegance and Ease, should that Happen you will be sensible of the Pleasure I feel. By this time you may have heard How y^r Piece is Relished at Court & what is sayed of it by others, such Anecdotes I long to have. I suspect there are some in Annapolis & Elsewhere who tho' pleased in their Hearts with the Citizen, will not Care to say so, th^t some of those who secretly like it, will openly Censure it: so goes the World.

I rode out to the Folly & Frosts, Every thing there & Here is in good order for a Crop & looks well; All the other Plantations I am told are in like good Condition. What small grain I have seen looks very well. I have 40 fine Lambs Here & a few Ewes yet to yeen. I have walked out but little yet, the ground by the night frosts & last nights Rain being too wet. I am very well. I embrace you all. May God grant you all perfect Health & a very long Continuance of it. I am Dr Charley

Yr Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

March 17th 1773 [213]

Dr Charley

The letter Herewith is wrote in such a Manner th^t you may as Circumstances may fall out if you see proper Communicate it to Do^r Scot Ridout & Jenifer it may make them open I would not have you write anything more unless y^r last Paper be Attacked, as you are upon strong ground about the Proclamation it Cannot give you much trouble to Maintain it, do not by any means bee drawne into discuss any other Matter, it is Mr Johnsons advice as well as myne, He told me His Heart is with you & that He will readily & Cheerfully advise you, without His advice do not meddle with any Law Point. I am Certain intense thought & Confinement Hurts you therefore write no more but in support of what you have sayed about the Proclamation. The Gov^r has a Ticklish part to Play, He may not see it, if Hartfords Guardians notwithstanding his Commission should be desierous to remove Him, May they not make a Pretence of His unpopularity & wrong step in issueing & supporting the Proclamation, He has owned it as His owne Act. Should He Recall the Proclamation & Settle the fees by a Law at a Lower Rate than by the last Act, will they not say He has betrayed His trust, will they not remove Him? Slight Pretences are enough to those who seek only Pretences for doeing what they want to do. This is a sudden thought & I desier you not to mention it on any Acc^t to any one I send the Boy downe this Day that I

may have Chace's & Paca's Answer, to Peruse it before Chace Return from Frederick Hither, which will be on Saturday. Dispatch the Boy on Friday as soon as the Nⁿ Post Comes in with the Philadelphia Paper. Pray give me such an Opinion as you Can forme of Chace's & Paca's Paper wh^h I understand is to be in to Morrows Gazette. I am glad you went to see the Gov^r last Friday & wish you had found Him at Home, it would have been as I think a sort of an embaressed Tete a tete, However a Conscious rectitude would have enabled you to behave with ease. Is not the text of the Citizen Misprinted? Are not the words *Arbitrary Counsels* in Hume? if so they ought to have been in Italicks. The word *youthfull* applied to the Gov^r. I wish it had been omitted it Carries too much the Significancy of Puerility & Levity & want of Reflection. This is the only Correction I would make in y^r Piece. In a week you must have heard some Reflections on, & Praises of y^r performance, let me Have them all, the meerest trifle is interesting. I am D^r Charley

Y^{rs} &c

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Mr Johnson is the Gentleman mentioned in my other letter who I say told me &c

Mr Ashton Came just before Dinner & delivered me y^{rs} of the 14th. He tells me Antillon says He will answer the Citizen I send 2 Volumes *Evangile du jour*. 2^{do} Demosthenes His Oration & Paradise lost. I Cannot find Bolts Considerations, I may have lent them to French or Ireland.

Between 12 & 2 a Clock this day we had Thunder Lightning & Rain.

March 20th 1773 [214]D^r Charley

Clem brought me y^{rs} of the 18th a little after 12 a Clock. I judge as you do by Antillons Card th^t He will not Answer you & I see He is not ashamed of keeping up His Claim to His Titles of a lyar & Calumniator. Whenever you have an opportunity to the Island Pray press Seers to dispatch the Carpenters

by giving them all the Tendance He Can & by a Constant Eye to them: Rigges tells me they Can easily with good Attendance Build a 50 foot House in 6 weeks, if so by the last of Aprill I hope they will doe all the other odd Jobbs He may want done. My Vineyard is in good order. I shall fill it as far as my Cuttings will enable me Ribbes has Cut downe a good Piece of the Branch at Jacobs as you goe to the Folly, about 4 Acres, when Cleared & layed in grass it will look prettily. I expect Johnson &c to Dinner at 3 a Clock it is nigh th^t Hour I therefore take my leave of you presenting my love & Blessing to you all I am Dr Charley

Yr Mo: Afft Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. March 22 The Genttm are leaving me, We have been very Cheerfull, the Politicall Papers in our Gazette have Chiefly furnished us with topicks of Conversation. We are well & wish you all so.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DULANY PAPERS

[Hon. Daniel Dulany, the younger, eldest son of Daniel Dulany, the elder, was born in Annapolis, Md., June 28, 1772, and died in Baltimore, Md., March 17, 1791. Educated at Eton College and Clare Hall, Cambridge University, England, and entered the Temple. Returning to America he was admitted to the bar of Maryland in 1747, and soon gained the reputation both in England and America of being one of the greatest lawyers of his time. On September 16, 1749, he married Rebecca Tasker, second daughter of Hon. Benjamin Tasker of Annapolis. She died in Brighton, England, in September 1822, in her 98th year. Member of the Lower House of Assembly 1751-1754, 1756. Commissary General 1759-1761, Member of the Council 1757 and in 1761 Secretary of the Province, which offices he held in conjunction until the War of the Revolution. In October 1765 he wrote a powerful pamphlet against the Stamp Act, entitled "*Considerations on the Propriety of imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament.*" This pamphlet was republished in London 1766. The best argument against arbitrary taxation hitherto written it attracted wide-

spread attention and had a tremendous influence, both in America and in England, and furnished the basis of Pitt's great speech in 1766 in the House of Commons against the Stamp Act.

In 1773 he had a political controversy in the *Maryland Gazette* with Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, under the respective titles of "First Citizen" and "Antilon," discussing the action of Governor Eden in establishing the fees, involving also the question of taxation for the support of religion.

Mr. Dulany consistently opposed the radical measures of the Patriot party, took no part in the Revolution, and in consequence lost the whole of his vast estates in 1781 under the Confiscation Act, "the estates of a man who had never breathed an unfriendly breath and had never raised his hand in one overt act."

After the confiscation of his property Mr. Dulany retired to private life.—RICHARD H. SPENCER.]

(London)

Saturday, January 22, 1743.

Dear Sir

I rec^d your letter last Thursday, & am very glad to hear you are so well. I have enquired what steps are necessary to be taken in order to gett my Brother¹ into the navy: & I find the method now in use is this. A letter must be procured from one of the Lords of the Admiralty to a Captain of a Man of war, desiring him to admitt into his ship the Person he recommends, allowing him the Liberty of the Quarterdeck.

The method of getting into the navy used to be by the King's letter but that can't be procured now. I have not yet delivered your last Letter to my L^d Baltimore² he being so much engaged I was afraid of appearing troublesome, but will wait on him as soon as he is a little more att Leisure. My Lord promised me when I first saw him since my Arrival, that he wou^d give my Brother his Letter of recommendation, & asked me whether you had not rather have him near you, wh^h I find is your desire by your letters. I doubt not but my Lord will very willingly recommend my Brother to Cap^t Warren. When I have seen

¹ Dennis Dulany, son of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the elder. He entered the British Navy in 1743, and remained in the service for several years. In 1754 he was made Clerk of Kent County, Md., and died without issue.

² Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, 1699-1751.

My L^d Baltimore I will let you know more by the first Opportunity. Mr Janssen³ has sent you the Statutes at Large you wrote to me about by Cap^t Hall. I have enquired about that Land as you desired. It is now in dispute, but Mr. Dash a Tobacconist who is one of the Gentlemen concerned has promised you shall have it (if he got it). I have since heard that the Other Gentleman has or will give up his pretensions to it. I have had but little time to enquire into it since I rec^d your letter, but will give you a more satisfactory account by the next opportunity. I have taken Chambers in the Temple but expected to have them much Cheaper than I have got them.

The Rent is £25 per annum unfurnished. You perhaps will think it too much for Chambers unfurnished, but had I taken them furnished I shou^d have payed as much in a few years as the Furniture will cost new. I hear that the Iron you sent by Grindall for 84 tons turns out but 81. Grindall desired me to let you know of it. I am very much concerned att Mr Heath's⁴ Loss & My Brother's sickness.

You will be very much surprised when I tell you, that the Earl of Bath⁵ is now as much the Subject of Satire, as he used to be of panegyrick. Many People, especially in the City condemn as much as they used to applaud the Earl's Conduct. The People are very bold in their instructions to their representatives, and insist very much upon having their Grievances redressed, before they grant any Supplies. The representation of the City of Worcester to Mr Sandys⁶ is very remarkable. You will find it in one of the Magazines I sent you. Prague has at last Capitulated the Account we have fr Vienna makes

³Sir Theodore Janssen of Wimbleton, Surrey, England. His daughter Barbara married Hon. Thomas Bladen, Governor of Maryland, 1742-1746, and his youngest daughter Mary, married Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore.

⁴John Paul Heath of Annapolis, Md. He married Rebecca Dulany, the eldest daughter of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the elder.

⁵William Pulteney (1684-1764). An English statesman. He entered Parliament in 1705. On the accession of George I, he became Secretary of War, retiring in 1717. He was created Earl of Bath in 1742.

⁶Samuel Sandys, first Baron Sandys (1695?-1770). He entered the House of Commons for the City of Worcester in 1718, which he continued to represent until his promotion to the House of Lords in December 1743.

the Loss of the French very Considerable, but on the other Hand Marshal Bellisle⁷ gives out his loss is very inconsiderable. Every one here is of opinion that the French have suffered very great Losses. I have sent you the Papers where Marshal Bellisle's Letter, the Account fr Vienna, & the Articles of Capitulation are inserted att length. We had a very Long Passage & met with very bad weather, the ship has been arrived att London but 10 days. Mr Ogle⁸ was very sea sick, but Mr^s Ogle was scarce an Hour sick.

Sammy Chew⁹ is now in London & in good health. Mr Hyde¹⁰ desired me to look out for a school for him & (I hope) I have found out one that will suit him very well. The Master has the character of a very Sober & carefull man & the distance of the school from London is very Convenient (it is about 10 miles fr London) & situated in a very good air. I shall have an opportunity of hearing of him frequently, as I shall see a Gentleman very often who has a Son att the same school.

Cap^t Loyd is taken by a Large Privateer after a very stout engagement, having killed 19 or 20 of the Enemy, but being overpowered with numbers, & having his first mate & Carpenter killed he was forced to submitt. The Reason I mentioned this

⁷Charles Louis Auguste Fouquet, Duke of Belle-Isle (1684-1761). A French Marshal and Politician. He shared with Broglie the command of the French forces in the war of the Austrian Succession and captured Prague Nov. 26, 1741; but was forced by the treaty of peace between Austria and Prussia at Breslau to retreat to Eger, December 17, 1742. He became commander in chief of the French Army in Italy in 1746, and was Minister of War from 1757 to his death.

⁸Hon. Samuel Ogle, Governor of Maryland, 1731-32, 1735-42, 1747-52. He married Ann Tasker, the eldest daughter of Hon. Benjamin Tasker, and Ann Bladen, his wife, and elder sister of Rebecca Tasker, the wife of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the younger.

⁹Samuel Chew, eldest son of Samuel Chew and Henrietta Maria Lloyd, his wife, who afterwards became the third wife of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the elder. Young Chew died early in life. His eldest sister Henrietta Maria married Hon. Edward Dorsey. His sister Margaret married Hon. John Beale Bordley, and his sister Mary married Hon. William Paca, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

¹⁰John Hyde of Kingston Lisle, Berks. He married Hon. Jane Calvert, daughter of Benedict, Fourth Lord Baltimore, and sister of Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore.

is, because I know he was expected in Maryland when I was there. Cap^t Pigott & Anderson are not yet arrived here, but have been heard of in Ireland. Admiral Vernon¹¹ took his seat in the House of Commons last Tuesday, it is reported the Admiral is to be knighted for his Services. Mr & Mrs Ogle desire their Compliments. They are both in very good Health.

I will Follow your advice to the utmost of my Power which is the least I can do in return for so much indulgence. That this may find you well is The sincere wish & hearty Prayer of
your Ever Dutifull Son

D. Dulany.

Letter from the Temple, June 7th, 1745.

Hon^r

I have wrote to you several Letters w^{ch} tho Prior to this in Date (some of them) by some months w^{ch} may not probably reach you, before this does, thro the disappointments the merchants have met with In the Convoy they expect'd. Orders at least 2 or 3 months ago were given to the merchants to have their ships ready immediately to sail, & those that got ready according to those orders, have been detain'd here for want of Convoy till this time. I thought it quite necessary to mention this, (as I am inform'd some of the Ships (the Merchants being quite tired of so great delay) have sailed without Convoy, in order to remove any uneasiness you may have been

¹¹ Edward Vernon (1684-1757). British Admiral. He entered the Navy in 1700; served in the war of the Spanish Succession 1701-1713, and entered Parliament in 1722. He bombarded and took Puerto Bello in 1739, was repulsed before Cartagena in 1741.

Tobias George Smollet served in the Cartagena expedition as a Surgeon's mate and gives a graphic description of it in "Roderick Random," and in his "History of England."

Lawrence Washington, elder brother of General George Washington, who also participated in the expedition, regarded Admiral Vernon very highly and named his estate on the Potomac River, in Virginia, in his honor.

Innumerable medals were struck off in 1739, all showing Vernon's head, with the legend, "He took Puerto Bello with six ships."

One of the medals is in the possession of The Maryland Historical Society.

under att not hearing from me, if none of those Ships you have wrote by, have sailed with them.

As you are att so great a Distance f^m the Grand Scene of Action, it is matter of Duty in me to transmitt to you as it may reasonably be imagin'd it is of Expectation to you, to hear f^m me, some Account of the most Interesting Events that have happen'd here. I have sent you a Printed Account of the Action in the Mediterranean, & Mr Lestocks Justification w^h seems rather a Charge against Mr Matthews, than a proper Vindication of his own Conduct & if this Recrimination shoud Prove true, it will only shew, that misconduct as well as Cowardice, or Treachery, Contributed to that most fatal miscarriage.

We have been Here in expectation f^m the great Vigour, the House of Commons showed in the Prosecution of their Enquiry, into the Cause of the miscarriage of our Fleet, in the Mediterranean that that affair woud, e'er now have been brought to a Conclusion; But notwithstanding the General Indignation, that miscarriage inspired all orders of men with, & the Rage of Resentment with w^h the whole nation was inflam'd, there is att Present a Dead Calm about it; as if e'vy other matter of publick Concern was absorb'd in this Event w^h I shall just mention to you, & refer you to the Magazines, I have sent you for a more Particular Account. There has lately been an Action between our Army under the Command of the Duke of Cumberland,¹² & General Königsegg, & the French near Tournay, w^h Place was besieg'd by the French, (& still holds out Thro' the Bravery of Baron Dort.) & in our Attempt to Raise the Siege, we met with a most severe Repulse. As I don't see the following Account of the Behaviour of some of the Dutch in the Magazines I have sent & as it is pretty extraordinary, I can't forbear giving you a Relation of it. A Party of Dutch

¹² William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765). An English General, son of George II. He fought at Dettingen in 1743; commanded at Fontenoy in 1745; and at Culloden in 1746, was defeated at Lawfelt in 1747, and at Hastenbeck in 1757. The City of Cumberland, Md., is named after him.

Horse att the very beginning of the Action, were seis'd with such a Panick, that they with their Brave Commander att their Head (who to be sure knew his Station too well upon this occasion to be in the Rear) Fled to Mons when they ariv'd there, this Gallant officer not thinking himself so safe as he cou'd wish Chose another Rout, & leaving his men to take care of their own safety, made the Best of his way to Brussels, where he told them, that the whole Army was Cut to Pieces, thro' the Cowardice of the English, & that he alone escap'd to tell the news. This Account was transmitt'd to the Hague, where the Populace were so extremely incens'd, & exasperated against the English, that they Assembled in a most Tumultuous, & outrageous manner, about My Lord Chesterfield's ¹³ House: (who was then our Ambassador att the Hague, but is since return'd) & it is more than Possible if this Account had not been very soon after Contradicted, his Lordship's safety, wou'd have been extremely precarious. Notwithstanding this Dutchman's great Aversion to be so near the French, he was oblig'd to return to the Army, where he was tried by a Court Martial, & Broke with Infamy.

We are apprehensive that the Baltimore is taken, as the Charles who sail'd about the same time fr^m Maryland and was in Company in the Channel has been arriv'd here, about 3 weeks & no news of the Baltimore.

I have not heard Lately fr^m Dennis, but saw a Gentleman about a month ago, who assur'd me, he saw him in good Health att Bristol. I suppose he is now on a Cruise. Sammy Chew is very well, & very much Grown, he desires to join with me, in my Duty to you, & his Mamma.

F^m Dear Sir your

Most Affectⁿ & Dutiful son D. Dulany.

A mail just this moment arrived fr^m Holland wh^h brings the Following Accounts of an Action in Silesia, between the

¹³ Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1699-1773). An English politician, orator and writer, famous as a man of fashion. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1744-1746.

Combin'd Armies of Prince Charles, & the Duke of Saxe Weissenfels, & the Prussians Commanded by the King in Person, we have not yet any Account of it publish'd here. But I will endeavour to give you as good an Account of it, as I can fm the Dutch Mail. Fm Berlin June 8th new stile The Austrian Army being Form'd by the Saxons were near 80,000 Strong, & had form'd a Design to Penetrate into Silesia by the Defiles thro' the mountains on the side, of Friedland, & Landeshut, their view seem'd to be, to Cut of our Communication frm the Rest of Lower Silesia, & even with Glogau, & so with Brandenbourgs to present this, his Prussian Majesty march'd to meet the Enemy, & the next day the engagement began. The Austrians Composed the Enemies right, & the Saxons the left wing. Our Right wing kept so incessant a Fire on the Saxons, that they first gave way, & their Cavalry was broke into the greatest Confusion. The Engagement on the left & in the Center with the Austrians & Hungarians was more obstinate, the Austrians were several times broke, & as often rallied when the Right had continued thus, for about 5 Hours, that Part of the Enemy that was the most expos'd to the Terrible Fire of our Infantry, & Cannon gave way, our Grenadiers making the most of this Advantage by a Desperate & most vigorous Effort, broke them into the greatest disorder & Confusion. The Enemy being defeat'd, abandon'd the Field, we pursued them in their Flight, for an Hour & Half 'till they were got quite, into the mountains. The number of the Enemy that were found kill'd & wounded in the Field of Battle must be & moreover we have made 5000 Prisoners, with 6 Generals, 36 of distinction, have taken 60 pair of Colours, 10 Standards, 8 pair of Kettle Drums & 40 Pieces of Cannon. The Enemy left great Part of their Baggage behind them, Our Loss amounts to about 1200 men. So far is the Prussian Account.

Fm Leipsick June 9th the following is the Duke of Saxe Weissenfels account of that Action wh he sent to the King of Poland after having given a Description of the situation & disposition of the Armies wh is pretty much the same, with the Prussian Account. he proceeded to this Effect. The Prussians

attack'd us with a great deal of Spirit, & we rec^d them with an adequate Firmness. The Engagement began about 4 in the morning & ended about 10, when our Cavalry by reason of the unevenness of the ground, retired with design to form again behind the Foot. The Left wing being by this weaken'd, & there being some Confusion among the Irregular Troops, & those about the Artillery it was thought Proper to make a retreat wh^h we did with great order, & took possession of the Defiles of Schmiedeberg & Landeshut the Enemy making a kind of distant pursuit. Our Loss amounts to about 3 or 4000 men, & some Generals are missing; as to the Enemies Loss it must be at least equal if not superiour to ours, their Cavalry having been very roughly Handled.

If Cap^t Hargrave does not sail before the 9th I will send you our Gazette where you will have

Dear Watty

I write this Purely to Inform You of Mr Dorsey's ¹⁴ Death, who died last night at about 9 o'clock & to desire that you'll Communicate it in such a manner as may be the Least shocking to M^{rs} Dorsey for this Purpose I suppose the best way wou'd Be to Inform her mother of it, whose good sense and Prudence as well as best Acquaintance with the Temper and Disposition of her Daughter will suggest to her the best means.

Mr Dorsey's case had appear'd for a considerable Time past to be quite desperate to Every one but Himself But He had Hopes of recovering to the Last, & yesterday agreed for his Passage to New York by water. his Disorder being a genuine Consumption, his Decline was & his Death without any the Least apparent Pain. He had left his Room, but Little before He Expired, to go to supper. I Left Him sitting up in his Chair, then He walked to his Bed, undressed Himself,

¹⁴ Hon. Edward Dorsey, lawyer, of Annapolis. Member of the Lower House of Assembly from Frederick County, Md., 1757-1760. He married Henrietta Maria Chew, eldest daughter of Samuel and Henrietta Maria (Lloyd) Chew. He died in Newport, R. I., in 1760, while on a trip to Boston for his health.

wound up his watch, & Laying his Head on the Pillow Expired Instantaneously.

This Event will keep me here Longer than I Intended to see to, & attend his Funeral, as well as to take Care of what He has Left. if I have an opportunity by water I intend to send Phil & the Portmanteau that way, & sell the Horses, or leave them with some Person here to be sold—the Expence of sending Horses so great a Distance by Land, & the Hazard of trusting to the Discretion of a negro who wou'd be his own Master, & must have money put into his Pocket to Defray the Charges of travelling, wou'd be, I think, too great, as I shall act in this melancholy affair for the best, I Hope it will meet with the satisfaction of his Friends. it seems that Funerals are celebrated here with much Expence, w^{ch} however I shall avoid as much as Decency will admit, The of which, being generally Local, Expect some Indulgence.

I have been the more Circumstantial in my Relation of Mr Dorsey's Dying, as it must without doubt be some Consolation to his Friends to hear that his death was as easy, as sinking into his usual Repose, & Let me add to this too that more Care cou'd not have been taken of him at Home, tho' He had not the Comfort of Haveing his nearest Relatives, about Him, w^{ch} yet his Resignation of Temper, or those delusive Hopes of Recovery w^{ch} usually attend Persons in Consumption, & those frequent & occasional Flashes of seeming Health made some Amends.

I am Dear Watty

Your affectionate Brot^r

Dan^l Dulany.

21st Sept. 1760.

Newport in Rhode Island.

1766.

D^r Brother,

There may be some Perplexity in the Expression, tho' I think my Ideas are clear. The Stamp Act proceeded upon the

peculiar Privilege of the Ho: of Commons, & according to our Acc^{ts} Mr Grenville ¹⁵ endeavour'd to support it by his Notion of *Virtual* Representation—after the Act took place, the Pamphlet generally attributed to Mr Grenville, called the Regulating of the Colonies, assumed the same principle of *Virtual* Representation; but after the Affair had been canvassed in America, all the subsequent writers both of Pamphlets & in Newspapers, dropped Mr Grenville's principle, & had recourse to that of the Supreme, unbounded, Legislative Authority of Parliament—what Topics were argued upon in Parliament, when the question concerning the Repeal came on I don't know, the account we have being only of Mr Pitt's ¹⁶ speech who ridiculed the Notion of *virtual* Representation & of Mr Grenville, who did not defend it, & true Protest of the Lords relates merely to the Sovereignty of Britain, & the Act w^{ch} I now send you, was founded in the same Manner. I mean by the term Advocates, all who were concerned as far as we know, in the Defence of the Stamp Act; for I never heard of any one after Grenville's Publication, who did not set up the Right to tax us by Act of Parliament on the foundation of the supreme, Legislative, Power, w^{ch} is lodged as well with the Lords as the Commons.

By the relative term *their* I mean the last Antecedent viz—two *advocates*, whoever they were that appeared in *Defence* of the Act, after the controversy began concerning the Legality of it; for the *Advocates* I speak of in a former Passage are those who changed the Ground of the Framer of it, & therefore cou'd not mean the Members of the Ho: of Commons who concurr'd

¹⁵ George Grenville (1712-1770) An English statesman. He entered Parliament in 1741; became a Lord of the Admiralty in 1744; was a lord of the Treasury, 1747-1755. From October, 1761, to October, 1762, he was a leader of the House of Commons. He became premier in 1763, and retained the office until July, 1765. He opposed the repeal of the Stamp Act.

¹⁶ William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (1708-1778). A famous English statesman and orator. He entered Parliament in 1735. Became Secretary of State in 1756, and leader of the House of Commons.

In the dispute with the American Colonies over the Stamp Act (1766) Pitt played a noble part, denounced the follies of Grenville and secured its repeal.

with the Framers upon his *own Ground*, in passing the Act, by the subsequent Acts, I mean the Act declaring the Dependency of the Colonies, & the Act imposing the Duty on Paper &c.

But yet after all, if the sense has not clearly appeared to yourself, it is not likely that it will clearly appear to others, & therefore it is certainly not well expressed—whether the word *Defenders* in the place of *Advocates* wou'd point out the Meaning better, I don't know—'tis probable that I carry with me some unexplained Idea, w^{ch} may give me a different view from what wou'd occur to a Reader, the introductory Part of the Piece was to shew, *ex absurdo*, that the Parliament of England cou'd not justly tax us; because no Principle to found such a tax upon can be maintained—that of Virtual Representation has I think been given up, not only in Pamphlets, but that the contrary is advanced in the Protest of the Lords, & the Acc^t to preserve the Dependency of the Colonies, & that the Consequence, respecting the Power of the Lords, w^{ch} can't be denied on the other Principle, being incompatible with all our Ideas of the English Constitution, shews an absurdity too glaring to be defended.

Again I must desire that the Paper magnet be sent, if there is anything obscure in it, or improper, and that you can't rectify to your own Satisfaction.

I am &c D. D.

Suppose some words to the follow^g Effect were to be thrown into a former Passage Viz. "For the Fiction (or whim) of *virtual* Representation was of a Texture too flimsy to withstand the Impression of an attack."

Jennings being with me, I was obliged to Keep your Boy.

Dear Watty,

My sister Hedges being extremely anxious to see me, I have made her a visit at Wilmington, & in my Return called at Newark, having been informed that the school there was in great Reputation. Mr Davidson the principal Master, has a most excellent character for Learning, decent Behaviour, &

other qualities. I determined to put Benny¹⁷ under his Instructions & writ Him a Letter, therein offering him 20£s ^{per} annum over, & above the usual Allowance for Board, & Instruction, with the view of engaging his particular Attention to Ben's Instruction. Davidson's Behaviour has been very honourable: for this Morning He paid me a visit here, being a time of a few Days vacation, & told me He cou'd not in Honour accept my Proposal because He had resolv'd, tho' He has not yet communicated his Resolution to any one, but Mr Hamilton & myself, to leave Newark, & go into orders upon the chance of being a Missionary.

I have heard Mr Addison say, He wou'd be glad to have a Curate to assist Him upon moderate terms, & especially one well qualified (as Davidson undoubtedly is) to instruct his children—whether He may not have alter'd his Mind I can't tell; but you can be informed by writing to Him. I have also understood that Brogden wants a Curate, & I believe that the free school in Prince George's wants a Master—can't you know this thro' Mr Murdock—if in neither of the above methods an encouragement can be given to him—cou'd He not be got into the free school at Annapolis, & a subscription be obtained that He might have a reasonable support—the Virginia Parson was to have come to Annapolis; but that is over—if everything else shou'd fail, might He not be sent upon the terms of a Reader to some vacant Parish. By all I have been able to collect concerning the Man's character, & what I have observed myself, I am very much induced to think that all who have sons to educate here have great Interest in his settling in Maryland.

My sister looks better than I ever saw her

I am Dr Watty Your affectionate Broth^r

11th Oct^r 1767.

D. D.

¹⁷ Benjamin Tasker Dulany (1752-1816), the second son of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the younger. He married in 1773 Elizabeth French of Virginia, a ward of General Washington, who gave her away at her marriage.

¹⁸ Rev. Henry Addison, M. A., ordained in England in 1742. Rector of St. John's Parish, Prince George's County, Md., for many years, and died in 1789 *aet.* 72. He married Rebecca Dulany, the second daughter of Daniel Dulany, the elder.

SOME EARLY COLONIAL MARYLANDERS

McHENRY HOWARD

1. Reverend WILLIAM WILKINSON, 1612-1663.

In the "Visitation of Berkshire, Vol. 2 [page 228], Harleian Society Publications, 1908, Volume 57," is a Pedigree of Wilkinson of Barnesly and Ealand, Yorkshire, England, ending in one line with Gabriel Wilkinson of Upper Winchington and Vicar of Bishop's Woobourne, Buckinghamshire, born 1576, died 17 December 1658, with children, Thomas, William, John, Margaret, Mary, John, Arthur, Richard, Matthew, Gabriel and Robert.

See also "The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association Record Series, Vol. 9, for the year 1890—Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills, xxxx, 1665, 1666," page 170.

Foster's "Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714" has the following entries:

"Wilkinson, Gabriel, of Yorksh., pleb. Merton College, matric. 25 Jan. 1593-4, aged 17, B. A. 1 Dec. 1597, M. A. 7 July 1603.

(S. Thomas, of Eland, Yorksh.) Vicar of Wooburn, Bucks. 1614 until his death 17 Dec. 1658, father of Thomas and William 1626 and perhaps of John 1620. See Foster's Index Ecclesiasticus.

Wilkinson, William, s. Gabriel, of Bishop Coburn, Bucks., sacerd. Magdalen Hall, matric. entry 9 June 1626, aged 14, B. A. 3 Feb. 1629-30, M. A. 25 Oct. 1632, brother of Thomas 1626."

In the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Volume 4, page 201, also Volume 6, page 94, is an abstract of a grant of 700 acres of land, 20 November 1635, in Linhaven [Norfolk County] to William Wilkinson, minister, of which 50 acres was

for his personal adventure and 50 acres for the personal adventure of his Wife Naomy and the rest for the coming of other named persons among whom do not appear any Wilkinson children. There can be little doubt that he was the William Wilkinson, "sacerdos," of the Berkshire-Yorkshire pedigree and Alumni Oxonienses.

And there is little doubt it was the same William Wilkinson who came to Maryland in 1650. In the Land Office of Maryland at Annapolis, L. O. R. No. 3, page 62, is the following entry:

"10 October 1650 Mr. William Wilkinson Clerk demandeth 900 acres for transportation of himself, his wife Mary, Rebecca and Elizabeth Wilkinson his Daughters and Elizabeth Budden her daughter; William Warren and Robert Cornish 2 men servants and Anne Stevens a woman servant into this Province this present year 1650. Warrant to lay out 900 acres for Mr. Wilkinson on Patuxent River or elsewhere within this Province on 1 February."

The same entry is in Liber A, B and H, page 49 (such repetitions are not uncommon), and it is printed in the MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Volume 8, page 266. An apparent ambiguity as to William Wilkinson's wife and daughters is removed by the acreage, the "Conditions of Plantation" being then 100 acres for each person; so the demand was for

Himself	100 acres
His wife (unnamed)	100 "
His 3 children, Mary, Rebecca, and Elizabeth	300 "
Her daughter Margaret Budden by a former husband	100 "
3 servants	300 "
	<hr/>
	900 acres

And if the same William Wilkinson to whom the land was patented in Virginia in 1635, he had had since then 3 children, his wife, Naomy, had died, and he had married again—a Mrs.

Budden. In Land Office Record No. 4, page 5, there is another demand of William Wilkinson, Clerk, for land for transporting 11 named persons in 1652.

In the "Day-Star of American Freedom, By George Lynn-Lachlan Davis" (Commissioner of the Land Office 1868), pages 153, 155, there is an account, from the *Maryland Archives*, of the trial of Mr. Wilkinson in 1659 for uniting in marriage a man and a woman when the man had a wife living, an act of which Mr. Davis under the circumstances perhaps speaks too extenuatingly. At his first arraignment he objected to the jury selected as being a very "weak" one and claimed to be tried by a Protestant jury, an objection which the Governor thought reasonable and postponed the trial, himself going on Mr. Wilkinson's bail bond. A few days after his second arraignment he was freed under a general pardon which followed the accession of Richard Cromwell in England. (See also *Archives of Maryland*, Provincial Court of Maryland Records Mar. 1658-Nov. 1662 [original], pages 185, 191, 200, 201.) Mr. Wilkinson was living in St. George's Hundred, St. Mary's County, and Mr. Davis says (page 146) that he was also a planter and engaged in trade. The emoluments of a Protestant Minister in Maryland in those early days, before the formation of Protestant Parishes must have been small and uncertain. He is said to have been the first Protestant Minister settled in the Province. (Day-Star, page 145.) In the *Archives*, Vol. 10, p. 311, he had rendered an account on 6 Feb. 1653 against the estate of John Stringer, who had died at his house, charging for a "funerall Sermon, a funeral Dinner, a plank for his Coffin" &c.

For some further account of the Reverend William Wilkinson, see "One Hundred Years Ago; By Elizabeth Hesselius Murray, 1895," page 15.

He died between 8 July 1663, date of an unsigned "postscript" to his Will, and 21 September, date of its probate. In this Will (recorded in Wills, Liber No. 1 page 190, now in the Land Office, Annapolis, to which, by Act of Assembly some

years ago, these Testamentary Records of the old Colonial Prerogative Office were removed from the Office of the Register of Wills of Anne Arundel County, and an abstract of which Will is in Baldwin's *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, Volume 1, page 26), after devising personal property to Elizabeth Budden, daughter of Margaret Budden, "my last wife," and to 2 Dent and Hatton grandchildren, he devises $\frac{1}{2}$ of the residue of his estate to his son in law Thomas Dent and Rebecca his wife and the other $\frac{1}{2}$ to his son in law William Hatton and Elizabeth his wife. It appears, therefore, that since his coming to Maryland, his last wife, Margaret (Budden) and his daughter Mary had died. And no son being mentioned it seems that other Wilkinsons in Maryland are not descended from him.

Thomas Dent died between 28 March and 21 April 1676, (date and probate of his Will, 1 Baldwin, page 169), and his widow, Rebecca, married (Colonel) John Addison; she had children by both her husbands.

A seal of the Reverend William Wilkinson, or a Will in England of the Reverend Gabriel Wilkinson or others, would probably identify him with the Yorkshire family—whose arms were, Gules, a fess vair, a unicorn cursant in chief or, within a bordure engrailed of the last egressed.

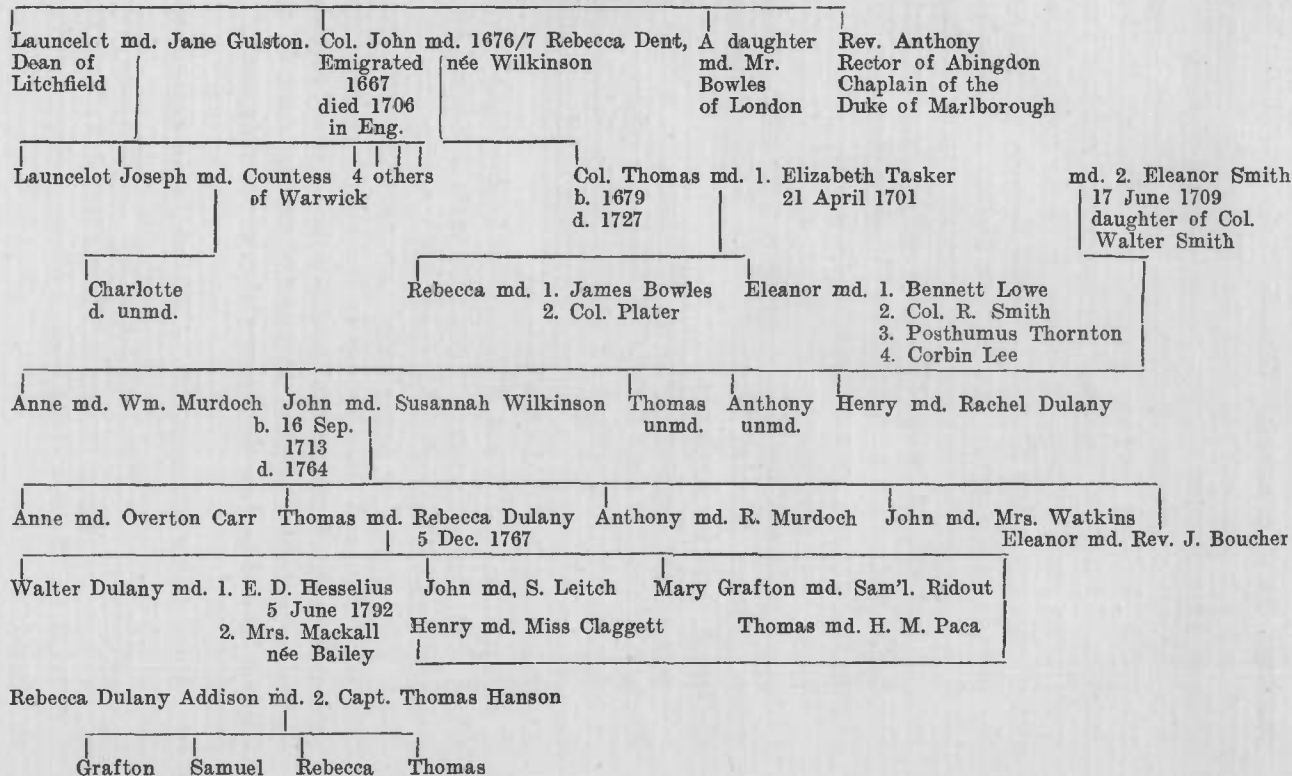
A deposition of William Wilkinson on 1 May 1652 (*Arch.* 10, p. 174), stating that he is "aged fifty years or thereabouts," and another on 13 April 1657 (page 552), stating that he is "aged fiftie yeares or thereabouts," are somewhat discrepant from each other and from the age in Oxford Alumnienses, but such statements of age prefixed to depositions are not material and were probably intended to identify the deponent in the community and to show that he was of capacity to depose.

2. Colonel JOHN ADDISON, 16 -1707, and some descendants.

In her book, "One Hundred Years Ago, the Life and Times of the Reverend Walter Dulany Addison 1769-1848; By Elizabeth Hesselius Murray, 1895," an Addison pedigree is given as follows:

REV. LAUNCELOT ADDISON, M. A.

called Launcelot of the Hill



Miss Murray—who was one of the descendants—says on page 13 of her book that Col. John Addison:

“Came to this country from England in the year 1667. He was brother to Launcelot Addison, Dean of Litchfield—father of the celebrated Joseph Addison. He also had a brother Anthony, Rector of Abingdon and Chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough. In an old note book of his grandson (the Reverend Henry Addison), which he kept while in England, is the following entry: ‘St. Helen’s Church at Abingdon [Berkshire] is a spacious and handsome building in the Gothic style and decently ornamented. My great uncle Anthony Addison B. D., Rector of this Church, died in 1719 and lies buried here under the altar.’ His brother Launcelot ¹ is buried in the Cathedral of Litchfield. Over a door is to be seen the Addison arms, together with that of a noble lady who gave the money to restore the Cathedral. Mr. Boucher in an article written for the *Historia Cumbriensis* tells us that he has seen, while in Maryland, sundry letters in the possession of Rev. Henry Addison, from Joseph Addison to his ancestor in which were frequent allusions to their being of one family. Mr. Boucher goes on to say, ‘That branch which went to Maryland became of note and still are so. They possess a noble estate on the banks of the Potomac opposite Alexandria and contiguous to the new Federal City. The family has long been distinguished for their strong sense, fine taste and humour and exquisite style in writing.’”

On page 195 Miss Murray gives a copy of the “Addison Arms from an old Tankard,” but, unfortunately, she does not give the hall marks, one of which would be the date letter. I interpret these arms heraldically: Ermine, on a bend 3 annulets, on a chief 3 leopards faces. [Tinctures not shown.] Crest, a unicorn’s head erased, pierced through the neck by an arrow in bend dexter. Motto, *Vulnus Opemque Fero*. The motto,

¹ Father of the celebrated Joseph Addison.

"I carry a wound (or weapon) and a remedy" refers to a superstition of the Middle Ages that the horn of the unicorn was both an offensive weapon and had also a valuable remedial quality.



Miss Murray's book being written from old Addison and Dulany letters and family records, most of which may not now be in existence or accessible, its statements may properly be accepted; and there is corroboration. I have given the above extracts in full because the book is not now readily found.

I have not seen a description of the arms in Lichfield Cathedral, but in Berry's *Encyclopaedia Heraldica*, Vol. 2, are Addison Arms: "Ermine, on a bend gules 3 annulets or [?], on a chief azure 3 leopards heads of the third"; and in "Westmorland Church Notes, By Edward Bellasis," after several Addisons in Morland Parish, there is on page 192 a description of a monument in the South transept of the Church to Robert Addison Esqre of Crossrig Hall, son of Christopher and Elizabeth Addison of Wickerfield in this Parish, born 13 October 1775,

died 6 April 1862, with arms, "Ermine, on a bend gules 3 annulets argent, on a chief azure 3 leopards' faces of the third: Crest a unicorn's head erased transfix'd by an arrow in bend sinister. Motto, *Esto quod esse videris*." [Mottoes were often assumed or changed at the pleasure of the user.]

That Colonel John Addison was from Cumberlandshire, England, further appears from letters from the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, who married his great-granddaughter, and who was himself a native of Cumberland, published in the *MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*. In Volume 8, page 41, he writes on 25 July 1769 from Maryland to the Rev. Mr. James in Cumberland of the desire of the Reverend Henry Addison, grandson of Col. John Addison, that a Curate be sent over to him from England, and says that he is so prejudiced in favor of Cumberland "where his ancestors came from that he will have none but a Northern lad"; and on page 179, in writing on 10 July 1772 of his own recent marriage to a niece of the Reverend Henry Addison, he says, "whose ancestors were from Cumberland."

The first mention of John Addison in Maryland records (that I have seen) is in the *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Council 1667-1687/8 (Vol. 5, page 334 et seq.), in a proceeding by Christopher Rousby, the King's Collector of Customs, against the master of a vessel for an alleged importation of goods in violation of the strict letter of the law, in St. George's River, St. Mary's County, in March 1777/8, and from which John Addison seems to be then engaged in merchandizing, and perhaps then coming to Maryland.

In the same *Archives* (Vol. 7, page 94) his name appears in an Act passed October-November Session 1678 as one to whom tobacco (money) is due in the late expedition against the Nanticoke Indians and other charges of the Province, but the particular services or credits of the very many persons named are not stated. And, page 610, by an Act passed in October-November Session 1683 he was appointed one of Commissioners to lay out Ports, Towns and other places in St. Mary's County.

On 22 September 1687 he was appointed a "puny" (puisé) Justice for Charles County, to which he had at some time removed from St. Mary's. (*Arch.* 5, p. 565.) He was re-appointed Justice for Charles Co. 4 Sep. 1689. (*Arch.* 13, p. 243.)

In 1689 he was appointed Captain of Foot in the upper parts of Charles County and "Newscotland." (*Arch.* 13, page 243.) And by the same Act, page 247, he was appointed one of a Committee for the whole Province for the allotting, laying and assessing the public levy of the Province.

In March 1688/9 he is rather conspicuous in a wild Indian and French scare, partly as an alarmist and partly with credit to his better judgment. (*Arch.* 8, p. 74 et seq.)

On page 138 of the same Volume he is a signer of the Congratulatory Address on 28 November 1689 of the Protestants of Charles County to William and Mary on their accession to the throne.

In the disturbed and disorganized condition of Maryland in 1690 he was named on several important commissions (same volume, pages 199, &c.), and on 16 April 1691 he was commissioned one of a Special Court for the trial of the accused murderers of John Paine, the royal Collector for Patuxent District—whose death had caused great political excitement in Maryland and had drawn attention in England. Pages 242 et seq.

On 26 August 1691 the British King and Queen, William and Mary, then ruling the Province directly—Lord Baltimore's authority having been set aside—appointed John Addison one of the Council of Maryland (same volume, page 271), and he continued a Member of the Council until his death, his presence at meetings being many times noted; and on 8 April 1692 he was commissioned a Justice of the Provincial Court—the highest Court in Maryland. (Page 307.)

On 30 May 1692 he was appointed by the Governor and Council one of several Commissioners to hold a special Court of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of the master of a vessel in

St. Mary's River accused of illegally entering goods. (*Arch.* 13, p. 320.)

On page 433 of Proceedings of the Council 1687/8-1693 (Vol. 8) he is abusively called, in a letter brought to the attention of the Council 21 December 1692, "a new Castle Factor," which may indicate a business connection with that town in England. To speak disrespectfully of a Member of the Council was a serious offence. In the early Council Proceedings there is a complaint of a Member that he has been elected a Vestryman and asking if it is not an indignity to a Member of the Council; and the Council says that it is and orders the election to be annulled.

On page 109 of Proceedings of the Council 1693-1696/7 (*Arch.* Vol. 20) he is mentioned on 30 July 1694 as being Captain of a Troop of Horse, but on the same day, page 130, he was commissioned Colonel of Charles County. And on 17 August 1695, page 281, he was commissioned Colonel of Prince George's County, recently formed, being taken chiefly from Charles County.

In July 1696 he was by Act of Assembly appointed one of the first Trustees of King William's School, to be founded at Annapolis, afterwards St. John's College. (*Arch.* 19, p. 421, and *Arch.* 38, p. 27.) And by an Act passed in June 1697 he and another were appointed to hear and determine all differences, quarrels and controversies between the Indian Nations of Ackocick, Nanjemoy, Pomunky and Piscattoway and those that inhabit within Charles and Prince George's Counties and the English inhabitants thereunto adjacent. (*Arch.* 38, p. 104.)

He was living in June 1705 (*Arch.* 25, p. 190), but on 10 June 1707 Governor Seymour writes to the Board of Trade in London that Colonel John Addison and two other Members of her Majesty's Council in Maryland have died since the last appointment (page 265). He is said to have gone to England on a visit and to have died there. No Will appears at Annapolis.

Colonel Addison's activities in the offices and employments

referred to above are very frequently mentioned in the *Archives*, and especially in connection with operations against and dealings with the Indians, his residence in Charles and Prince George's Counties being on or near the then frontier of the settled Province. After the Protestant Revolution of 1689 he was one of the leading Protestants of Maryland, and to the Protestant Episcopal Church the Addison family has been strongly attached ever since.

He married—Miss Murray says in 1677—Rebecca, widow of Thomas Dent (who died in 1676—1 Baldwin's *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, page 169—and by whom she had several children) and daughter of the Reverend William Wilkinson of St. Mary's County, who came to Maryland with his wife and three daughters in 1650 and is said to have been the first Protestant clergyman to settle in the Colony. (Davis's *Day Star*, pages 145, 204.)

Mrs. Addison survived until between 1724 and 1726 and by her Will, dated 5 November 1724, proved 20 August 1726 and recorded in the old Prerogative Office, Annapolis, in Liber W. D. No. 1 page 520, now in the Land Office, devises 20 lbs. sterling to her son Thomas Addison and the rest of her estate to her daughter Barbara (Dent) Brooke and her children.

Colonel THOMAS ADDISON, who appears to have been the only child of Colonel John and Rebecca (Wilkinson) Addison, was born about 1679. His life activities were much like those of his father. The first mention I have found of him in the printed *Maryland Archives* is his appointment by the Governor and Council on 15 May 1696 as Surveyor of Prince George's County. (*Arch.* 20, p. 425.)

On 15 October 1697 he was made Deputy to the Naval Officer of Potomac District. (*Arch.* 23, p. 253.)

On 24 May 1705 he was appointed or nominated one of Commissioners to go North and treat with the Seneca Indians. (*Arch.* 26, p. 468.) These appointments were in the life-time of his father.

Colonel Thomas Addison was appointed by Queen Anne—

the Province being then under Royal Government—a Member of the Council of Maryland, his Commission being dated in London 15 January 1708/9, and he took his seat 27 October 1710. (*Arch.* 27, p. 496.) In his attendance thereafter he generally appears for some years as Lieutenant Colonel, having been so appointed at some time before, but after 1714 he is styled Colonel and was, no doubt, Colonel of Prince George's County, as his father had been.

On page 320 of Proceedings of the Council 1698-1731 (*Arch.* 25, p. 320) (between which years the Council records are very defective) he is mentioned as a Judge of the Provincial Court in 1715; and he was holding the same Office 26 July 1726. (*Arch.* 35, p. 557.)

By an Act of Assembly passed in 1718 Colonel Thomas Addison was one of Commissioners to settle disputes about the boundaries of Lots in Annapolis, the Plat of which had been destroyed in the burning of the State House in 1704. (*Arch.* 33, p. 291.)

Under an Act passed in 1715 (*Arch.* 30, p. 252) to facilitate the ascertaining and settling the bounds of lands in the several Counties, Colonel Addison had been appointed one of the 5 Commissioners for Prince George's County, and in April 1720 a complaint was made against him of partiality in the exercise of his duties, an accusation which he resented so much that on an angry impulse he tendered a resignation of all his offices. And perhaps in the same connection, Daniel Dulany, then in the beginning of his distinguished career in the Province, calls him "a Little Rascalous Fellow." (*Arch.* 33, pp. 504, 508, 512, 591.) But the matter seems to have been soon dropped.²

In 1 Harris and McHenry's *Maryland Law Reports*, page 199, he is mentioned as being Surveyor for the Western Shore in 1723.

The Proceedings of the Assembly and of the Council show a very frequent attendance of Colonel Addison down to 1726 and doubtless he continued a Member of the Council until his death.

² Subsequently the Addison and Dulany families were closely connected by several marriages.

The regrettable missing parts of the Council record, the most interesting series of the *Archives*, would give more information about him.

Miss Murray—herself a descendant and in possession of old Addison records and papers—says that he increased the large estate inherited from his father, and that he died in 1727. His Will, dated 9 April 1722, with a Codicil dated 2 November 1725, was proved 28 June 1727 and was recorded in the old Prerogative Office, Annapolis, in Liber _____, now in the Land Office, but I have not an abstract and do not remember its provisions.

Colonel Thomas Addison was twice married. The Register of St. John's or Piscataway Parish, Prince George's County (a copy of which is in the Maryland Historical Society), has the following entries, on page 264 of the copy:

“ Thomas Addison, aged above Twenty two years

Honorable Coll. John Addison and Elizabeth aged 15
years of Thos. Tasker Esq^r was Joined in
Holy Matrimony upon Tuesday the 21^o of April annoq.
1701. Their children ffollows—

Rebeckah Addison was Borne on Monday the 3^d day of Jan^y
Annoq 1703 about Eleven a clock in the Morning.

Elinor Addison was Born on Wensday the 20th of March
Annoq. 1705 about halfe an hour after 9 a Clock in the
Morning.

Eliz^a The Mother of These Children Departed This
Life the 10th Day of ffebruary Annoq. 1706.

The Hon^{ble} Coll^o Thomas Addison and Elinor Smith Second
Daughter of Coll^o Walter Smith of Patuxant River aged
about 19 years was Joyned in Holy Matrimony The 17th
Day of June Anno 1709.

Ann Daughter to the above Thomas & Elinor was Borne on
Munday the 18th Day of ffebruary about two a Clock in
the morning, 1711/12.

John Addison son of the above Thomas and Elinor was born on

Wednesday the 16th of September 1713 at Three a Clock in the Morning.

Thomas Addison, son of the above Thomas and Elinor was Borne Thursday the 26th of May 1715 at Twelve a Clock."

The foregoing entries were evidently put on the Parish Register at some time or times after the events—as was not uncommon—and they were probably made by Colonel Thomas Addison himself, or at his instance. The two blank spaces in the entry of the first marriage indicate torn places or other obliteration in the original and doubtless should be filled in with "son of the" and "daughter," respectively. And there were two other children of Colonel Thomas and Elinor (Smith) Addison born after the above Parish entries, Anthony and (the Reverend) Henry Addison.

After Colonel Thomas Addison the family does not appear prominently in political life, but it continued influential and prosperous. Of the Reverend Henry Addison (youngest?) son of Colonel Thomas and Elinor (Smith) Addison, something has been incidentally written in the first part of this article. He was a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford University, England, and Foster's "Alumni Oxfordienses 1715-1886" has the following:

"Addison, Henry, s. Thomas, of Mary Land, arm. Queen's Coll. matric. 3 March 1734-5, aged 16, B. A. 1738, M. A. 1741."

He was ordained in the Church of England (Protestant Episcopal) and became Rector of King George's "alias St. John's," commonly called Piscataway or Broad Creek Parish in Prince George's County, Maryland, and so continued from 1751 or before (*Arch.* 28, p. 512) until his death in 1789. He married Rachel, daughter of Daniel Dulany, the first of that distinguished family in Maryland, and widow of William Knight.

The Reverend Henry Addison was warmly interested in efforts in 1766, 1769 and 1770 to have an American Episcopacy

established for the Church. ("One Hundred Years Ago," page 30 et seq. and *Arch.* Vol. 32, p. 379 et seq.)

He went to England at or about the beginning of the Revolutionary War and stayed there until its close. The Reverend Jonathan Boucher, some of whose letters have been quoted from and who had married his niece, writes from London 8 January 1776 to his friend the Reverend John James, in Cumberland: "I am not sure that I shall not, next week, go down to Oxford with Mr. Addison, about to carry his son thither, to Queen's." (*Md. Hist. Mag.* Vol. 8, p. 347.) And on page 349 Mr. Boucher writes from Paddington (London) to the same on 5 March 1776: "My friend Mr. Addison & myself purpose taking our Staves & Scrips in our Hands about May & setting out on a Pilgrimage over the Kingdom, for which, I fear, we shall have abundant Time before we can think of returning to our People in the other Hemisphere." But on 28 April 1776 he writes: "My friend Mr. Addison is just about leaving us for the Summer. He sets off in great State, with a pair of Clever Geldings & a Servt. He goes from hence to his Friends the Simpsons in Hampshire & to Oxford & Bath & from thence will make a large Tour thro' this Kingdom, Ireland & Scotland. He presses Me to meet Him at your House about November next." (*Magazine*, Vol. 9, page 57.)

While so absent in England he was presented for High Treason at the May Term 1781 of the General Court of the Western Shore of Maryland, but the action was struck off at the May Term 1782. (*Magazine*, Vol. 4, page 288.) But his tangible property was probably confiscated. He returned from England to his Maryland Parish after the war and died—Miss Murray says in 1789. ("One Hundred Years Ago," page 131.)

A few lines may be well here added to what has been said about the Reverend Jonathan Boucher who married Eleanor Addison, daughter of John Addison, eldest son of Colonel Thomas Addison. He was a native of Cumberland, England, and first came to Virginia as a tutor in 1759. Going to England for ordination in 1762, he had successively two Parishes in

Virginia and in 1770 removed to Maryland, where he was Rector of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis. He warmly adhered to the side of the mother country in the Revolution and at its beginning intrepidly preached with loaded pistols on the pulpit cushion, in his farewell sermon proclaiming, "God save the King!" ("One Hundred Years Ago," page 46 et seq. and *Md. Hist. Mag.* Vol. 8, page 243.) He went to England in September 1775 and never returned. In 1797 he wrote a book about the American Revolution and, although their former friendly relations had been broken off, dedicated it—and not ironically—to General Washington, who made a courteous acknowledgment. ("One Hundred Years Ago," page 49; *Mag.* Vol. 10, page 123.)

He was a man of good character and abilities and literary attainments, strong in his convictions and vigorous in upholding them. A sketch of his life will be found on page 1 of Vol. 7 of the *Md. Hist. Magazine*, prefixed to the publication of his letters. See also Bishop Meade's "Old Churches and Families of Virginia," article xxxvii.

The Reverend Walter Dulany Addison, 1769-1848, son of Thomas (and Rebecca Dulany) Addison, son of John Addison, eldest son of Colonel Thomas Addison, is the chief subject of Miss Murray's book.

Miss Elizabeth Hesselius Murray, of West River, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, was the daughter of Alexander Murray and his first wife Mary Young Addison, the daughter of the Reverend Walter Dulany Addison and Elizabeth D. Hesselius, his first wife, daughter of John Hesselius, the well-known Maryland portrait painter. Miss Murray died some years ago.

Oxon Hill, the Colonial home of the Addisons, probably named from Oxford University, at the mouth of Broad Creek into the Potomac about ten miles below Washington, was destroyed by fire 6 February 1895. But it had passed out of the family in the time of the Reverend Walter Dulany Addison.

NOTES

Tabular views of Universal history, compiled by George Palmer Putnam, and continued to date under the editorial supervision of George Haven Putnam. Peace Conference edition. New York, 1919. \$2.50.

The revision of this standard work maintains the standards of its predecessors and it is unquestionably one of the most important "desk tools" for literary workers. Arranged in parallel columns, it shows at a glance what characters and what events were contemporaneous with each other, as well as the date of each. The sections dealing with the chronology of the Great War, 1914-1919 and the Armistice period, 1918-1919, are particularly valuable.

The work is ably edited and well indexed.

The following bibliography of articles on the history of Catonsville by one of its former residents will doubtless be of interest to many readers of the *Magazine*. It is to be regretted that they have not been printed or reprinted in some more permanent form as most of the material therein contained is inaccessible in any other form, and it represents the expenditure of much time and labor—a veritable labor of love. We hope to secure at least some of the biographical sketches for republication in the *Magazine* at an early date.

CATONSVILLE ARTICLES

BY

GEORGE C. KEIDEL

1. *The Lutheran Observer* (Lancaster and Philadelphia, Pa.), Vol. LXVI, no. 5 (Feb. 4, 1898), p. 5, cols. 1-2: George C. Keidel, *A Typical Language Problem: Its Solution at Catonsville, Md.*
2. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. XVI, no. — (July 2, 1898), p. 4, col. —: *Field Day at Catonsville*. [By George C. Keidel]

3. *The Baltimore News* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. LII, no. 45 (June 25, 1898), p. 5, col. 3: *Field Day at Catonsville*. [By George C. Keidel]
4. *The World* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. 9, no. 214 (June 30, 1898), p. 6, col. 1: *Club Formed at Catonsville Working Hard*. [By George C. Keidel]
5. *The Baltimore News* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. LII, no. 51 (July 2, 1898), p. 9, col. 3: *Field Day at Catonsville*. [By George C. Keidel]
6. *The Baltimore News* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. LII, no. 53 (July 6, 1898), p. 5, col. 1: [*Plays at the Catonsville Country Club*]. [By George C. Keidel]
7. *Ellicott City Times* (Ellicott City, Md.), Vol. XXX, no. 38 (Sept. 23, 1899), p. 3, col. 1: *Semi-Centennial*. [By George C. Keidel]
8. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. XVIII, no. 2 (Sept. 30, 1899), p. —, cols. —: *Golden Jubilee of Salem Church*. [By George C. Keidel]
9. *Baltimore Morning Herald* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. —, no. — (Oct. 2, 1899), p. 7, col. 2: *Golden Jubilee*. [Dictated by George C. Keidel to a reporter on Oct. 1, 1899]
10. *The Lutheran Observer* (Lancaster and Philadelphia, Pa.), Vol. LXVII, no. 42 (Oct. 20, 1899), p. 6, col. 1—p. 7, col. 1: *After Fifty Years*. (Portrait and illustration). [By George C. Keidel]
11. *The Lutheran Observer* (Lancaster and Philadelphia, Pa.), Vol. LXVIII, no. — (Dec. —, 1900), p. —, col. —: *Rev. Geo. W. Ebeling*. [Recast from article by George C. Keidel]
12. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. XX, no. — (May 18, 1901), p. —, col. —: *Church Festival*. [By George C. Keidel]
13. *Baltimore American* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. CXC1, no. 34824 (Sept. 26, 1901), p. 12, col. 4: *Dr. Ebeling Dies at Catonsville*. [By George C. Keidel]
14. *Baltimore Morning Herald* (Baltimore, Md.), no. 8332 (Sept. 26, 1901), p. 11, cols. 1-2: *Rev. Dr. Ebeling's Busy Life Peacefully Closes*. (With Portrait). [Adapted from an article by George C. Keidel]
15. *The Sun* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. CXXIX, no. 114 (Sept. 26, 1901), p. 7, col. 3: *Rev. George W. Ebeling Dies at His*

Home in Catonsville. [Adapted from an article by George C. Keidel]

16. *The Lutheran Evangelist* (Washington, D. C.), Vol. xxv, no. 40 (Oct. 4, 1901), p. 5, cols. 2-3: —? [Adapted from an article by George C. Keidel]
17. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. xxi, no. 2 (Oct. 5, 1901), p. —, col. —: George C. Keidel, *Tribute to Rev. Geo. W. Ebeling, Ph. D.* (?)
18. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. xxxi, no. 15-31 (Jan. 6–April 27, 1912), Vol. xxxii, nos. 11-28 (Dec. 7, 1912–April 5, 1913): George C. Keidel, *The Colonial History of Catonsville, A Series of Articles.* Nos. 1-35.
19. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. xxxiii, no. 4 (Oct. 18, 1913), p. 3, col. 5: *A Catonsville Confederate: Incidents in the Life of Herman F. Keidel*, by his nephew George C. Keidel.
20. *The Valley Register* (Middletown, Md.), Vol. lxviii, no. —, (Dec. —, 1913), p. —, col. —: George C. Keidel, *Herman F. Keidel* (?).
21. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. xxxiv, nos. 43-52 (July 17–Sept. 18, 1915), Vol. xxxv, nos. 1-6, 8, 9 (Sept. 25–Oct. 31, Nov. 13, 20, 1915): George C. Keidel, *Catonsville Biographies* (Rev. L. Van Bokkelen, D. D., LL. D.; Rev. Geo. W. Ebeling, Ph. D.; Dr. Adalbert J. Volck). 19 articles.
22. *The Automobile Club of Philadelphia Monthly Bulletin*, Vol. x (1918), pp. 28-30: G.[eorge] C. K.[eidel]. *Observations on the National Road West of Baltimore.* [Recast by Robert Bruce]
23. *The National Genealogical Society Quarterly* (Washington, D. C.), Vol. vii, no. 2 (July, 1918), p. 25, cols. 1-2: George C. Keidel, *The Pierpont Burying Ground at Catonsville, Baltimore Co., Md.*
24. *The Catonsville Lutheran Church, A Sketch of its Origin*, by George C. Keidel, Ph. D., formerly Secretary of the Church Council, late Associate in the Johns Hopkins University, Language expert in the Library of Congress. Washington, D. C., Privately printed, 1919. 8vo., ii, 12 pp.

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